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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
EDUCATION AND THE BLACKFOOT: 1870 - 1900

by



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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1971

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Education and the Blackfoot: 1870-1900" submitted by Kathryn Kozak in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

The present study focuses upon one group of Canadian Indians, the Blackfoot of Southern Alberta, and their "entry" into the Dominion. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Canadian West saw the expansion of a stronger civilization, with its accompanying religious imperialism, into the domain of the nomadic buffalo hunting Blackfoot.

What was to be done with the aborigine? The government chose to isolate the Indians upon reservation lands until they were ready to enter non-Indian society. The ultimate objective was successful assimilation; the stepping-stone was to be education embodied in the denominational school. The missionary was welcomed as an ally in transforming the Indians' habits and beliefs; the boarding and industrial schools were to be the miracle centres where Indian children would shed all that prevented them from becoming good Christian citizens.

The interaction between government, missionary and the Blackfoot was far from harmonious. As each pursued their own interests, the education programme suffered and the Indian children became the victims. The government wanted to fashion a generation of self-supporting Indians; the missionary wanted to fashion good Catholics or Anglicans; and the adult Blackfoot clung to whatever traditions he could still maintain. The school symbolized a separation between parent and child and death to the Blackfoot's

animistic system of beliefs---the most intrenched and valuable aspect of his way of life. Suspicious of the white man's ways and unconcerned with his objectives, the Blackfoot refused to cooperate with the educators, thus ensuring the failure of the school system.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Professor L.G. Thomas for seeing this thesis realized, Professor R.R. Hett for his guidance in the study and Mr. John Foster for providing helpful assistance in the writing.

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INTRODUCTION

The acquisition of the North West in 1869 posed new problems for the Dominion, one of these being the delicate question of how to incorporate the Indian into the larger scheme of the expansion and development of the Canadian West. Choosing to continue the Imperial Government's policy of negotiations with the aborigine and his subsequent settlement in segregated areas,¹ the Canadian Government concluded seven treaties with the different Indian tribes between the years 1870 and 1877, covering the entire fertile belt from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains.

The government and aborigine were to be mutual beneficiaries of the Treaty System. The general terms of the treaties included the government's allocation of certain land to the aborigine, the payment of annuities, the promise of agricultural implements and livestock and the establishment of schools when the native should so desire. In return the Indian surrendered title to the regions and was asked to adhere to the laws of the land.

They [the Indians] promise and engage that they will, in all respects, obey and abide by the law, that they will maintain peace and good order between each other and be--

1

Prior to the signing of the treaties of the 1870s, the Selkirk Treaty of 1817, the Robinson Treaties of 1850, and the Manitoulin Treaty of 1862 had been signed. These treaties, however, only involved an exchange of tobacco or money for the land ceded, with no further obligations written into the treaties.

tween themselves and other tribes of Indians, and between themselves and others of Her Majesty's subjects...; and that they will not molest the person or property of any habitant of such ceded tract, or the property of Her Majesty the Queen, or interfere with or trouble any person, passing or travelling through the said tract or any part thereof, and that they will assist the officers of Her Majesty in bringing to justice and punishment any Indian offending against the stipulations of this treaty, or infringing upon the laws in force in the country so ceded.²

With the remission of the aboriginal title to the lands of the West, the federal government's top priority was to establish stability in the frontier regions so that the task which remained----"to bind this huge, divided country together with railways, to people its empty spaces with settlers, to diversify and strengthen its simple economy with varied commercial enterprises"---would be more
3
feasible and more rapidly achieved. The reserves were created to isolate the Indian from the surrounding non-Indian society until, in theory, he was "ready" for incorporation. The Indian Act of 1876 stated that the general aim of the Indian Affairs Branch should be "through education and every means, to prepare him for higher civilization by encouraging him to assume the privileges and responsi-

2

Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North West Territories (Toronto: Willing and Williamson, 1880), p. 371.

3

Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald, The Old Chieftain (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1965), p. 253.

bilities of full citizenship."⁴ To the government the treaty provisions were only a temporary measure until the Indian became self-sufficient and integrated into the mainstream of Canadian society; to the Indian the terms came to mean security from hunger and want for themselves⁵ and their children's children.

The nature of this study imposes topical limitations. The central theme, therefore, will be the government's educational policies and the effects of the education programme upon the Blackfoot tribes of Southern Alberta from the signing of Treaty Number Seven in 1877 until 1900.

The Blackfoot peoples, comprised of the Blood, Piegan and Blackfoot Proper tribes, were the principal signatories of Treaty Number Seven. The treaty designated the reserva-

⁴
Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. Annual Report ...for 1876 (Ottawa: IB Taylor, 1876), p. xiv.

⁵
The reluctance of the Indians to work, while simultaneously demanding rations, reflects somewhat their interpretation of the treaty. Chiefs were concerned over the peoples' future well-being: "He [Crowfoot] begged Macdonald to banish the fears of the Indians for their children's nourishment and welfare." See Creighton, op. cit., p. 460.

*
The Sarcee and Stony Indians also signed Treaty Number Seven although these two groups do not belong to the Blackfoot nation. The Sarcee, often identified with the Blackfoot, are a small band related to the Beaver Indians. In early times, the Sarcee separated from their own people, going south instead of north. Weak in numbers, they subsequently allied with the Blackfoot, although they belong to the Athapascan linguistic group, whereas the Blackfoot stem from the Algonkian family. The Stony, on the other hand, belong to a third group, the Siouan.

tion land of each tribe; the Blackfoot Proper secured 470 square miles on both sides of the Bow River at the Blackfoot Crossing; the Piegiens received 181.4 square miles of land six miles southwest of Fort MacLeod; and the Bloods were allotted 547.5 square miles between the Belly and St. Mary's Rivers about fourteen miles from the U.S. border.⁶

The history of the Blackfoot prior to the reservation period reveals many changes in their way of life from the early "dog days" to the "golden age" of the mid-nineteenth century.⁷ The major changes were brought about chiefly by the acquisition of the gun, horse, and somewhat later, traders' goods; but because the changes were selective and gradual they in no way weakened the Blackfoot as masters of their region. Prior to the 1870s the Blackfoot, a proud and powerful people, depending almost solely on the buffalo for their existence, roamed in hunting bands, following the migrations of the bison. Unafraid and unrestrained, these warriors engaged in widespread horse-stealing and enjoyed the rewards of the ensuing "horse-wealth."⁸ Sir William

⁶
Oblate Archives. Edmonton. "Descriptions and Plans of Certain Indian Reserves in the Province of Manitoba and the North West Territories, 1889." Surveyed in 1883, approved by Governor General in Council May 17, 1889. P.C. 1151, Privy Council, Canada.

⁷
For a complete study, see Oscar Lewis, The Effects of White Contact Upon Blackfoot Culture (New York: J.J. Augustin Publisher, 1942); and John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), pp. 5-12.

⁸
Oscar Lewis, op. cit., p. 55.

Butler described them in The Great Lone Land as "essentially a wild, lawless, erring race, whose knowledge is read from the great book which Day, Night and the Desert unfold to them; and who yet possess a rude eloquence, a savage pride, and a wild love of freedom of their own."⁹

This portrait, however, did not depict the people who settled down to reservation life between the years 1877 and 1881. The events of the 1870s, particularly the lethal smallpox epidemic, the destructive whiskey trade and the depletion of the bison, had reduced the Blackfoot numbers,^{*} broken their spirits and totally destroyed their livelihood. In the early 1880s the federal authorities were faced with the growing necessity of providing food for over four thousand persons.¹⁰ Although the government had not formulated any specific socio-politico-economic plan to aid the Indians' development up to this time, it realized the urgent necessity of assisting the Indians, especially the Plains buffalo hunters, in adjusting to a new way of life; a sedentary existence. The two basic instruments of adaptation were to be agricultural instruction and the school.

The government's educational policies were not static;

9

W.F. Butler, The Great Lone Land (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1873), p. 374.

*

For a more detailed discussion, see chapter one, pp. 31-39.

10

Arthur G. Doughty and Adam Shortt, eds., Canada and Its Provinces Vol. VII (22vols.; Edinburgh University Press, 1914), pp. 600-601.

they were revised in accordance with the changing circumstances which affected the school situation. This study deals essentially with the policies established by the Conservative government up to 1896, although the changes put forth and those actually introduced by the Liberal administration are discussed and the effects of the proposals analyzed.

The school system that evolved during these years included the day, boarding and industrial school under the direction of the Church of England and Roman Catholic missionaries. The history of the day schools on the Blackfoot reservations proved to be an embarrassment to both the government and the missionary. The generally inadequate schoolhouses, educators and curricula, coupled with a poor attendance of the children, resulted in acknowledged failure as early as 1888. From that point on, except for the wavering after 1896, the phasing out of the day schools began.

The failure of the day schools ushered in the experiment of the residential school, located upon or near the reserve. These schools were established for the purpose of removing the children from the influences of home life, thus providing more conducive conditions for the successful teaching of the English language, basic knowledge, Christianity, and to a limited extent, the arts of husbandry and domesticity: in toto, the indoctrination of

the white man's system of values. Throughout the period, school authorities held sanguine expectations for these schools.

High expectations also existed for the industrial school at High River, established in 1884 as a direct result of Nicolas Flood Davin's report on the Indian Industrial Schools in the United States. The purposes of the industrial school programme were three-fold: the teaching of basic knowledge, the development of moral character and new values, and the instructing of trades and agriculture. The government's prime objective was to produce, eventually, a self-supporting Indian population. The industrial school was viewed as the chief instrument in bringing about this goal. The prevailing opinion was that upon the completion of the intensive learning programme, the students would emerge from the school with the white man's ethos.

In devising its schooling programme for the aborigine, the Indian Affairs Department introduced and continuously supported the sectarian school system. The assistance and influence of the missionary was highly valued in transforming the primitive heathen into a civilized Christian citizen. Throughout the period the government worked in conjunction with the churches: approving applications for the building of mission schools, providing financial support, setting the programme of studies, supplying the

materials, inspecting the schools and leaving only the administrative and managerial functions to the missionary.

The role of the missionaries within the schools was considered by federal officials to be of particular significance; direct contact between missionary and Indian child was to have a major civilizing influence upon the latter. The missionaries also saw the school as the chief agent of change and the optimal place for the achieving of a true conversion. As a result, the concentration in studies revolved around religion and morality. In their jealousy to obtain converts, the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics displayed a rivalry that created confusion and suspicion among the Indians and harmed their own interests.

Successful change obviously depended primarily upon the Blackfoot. Since the Indians' reaction to the schools was one of apathy or hostility except for the favorable attitude of the first half of the 1890s, the school authorities' goals were thwarted. Because parents were not sending their children to school, the sparsely filled schoolhouses spelled defeat. Consequently the lack of positive response from the Blackfoot became the greatest obstacle to achieving success through educational means.

The children's attitude was somewhat different. According to one Anglican missionary, Canon Stocken, it was they who generally "carried the day" with the

11
schools. Apart from the exceptions, the majority of those who attended for a lengthy period at the boarding or industrial school displayed very good progress; and while at the institutes, in all appearances, they lived as the white man instructed. It was upon their return to the reserve that the impact of education was nullified.

This work describes the policies of the government, and their implementation; the role of the missionary in the school system and the consequences for the system; and the attitudes of the Blackfoot and how they affected the children's learning. Although the greatest weakness of the study is the absence of "the Indian's Story", the available information was assembled to arrive at some plausible conclusions. The relevant question is: why did education in this instance fail, whereas in most cases it succeeds, 12 to adapt a people to a new way of life? And, taking into consideration that the study deals with a relatively short period, was a strong foundation laid for future success?

The choice of 1900 as the termination for this study rests on several factors. By 1900 the day schools, with the exception of three, were converted to boarding schools,

11

Glenbow Foundation. Calgary. "Personal Papers of Canon H.W. Stocken, (n.d.), p. 57.

12

This refers particularly to the success of education in assimilating different ethnic groups in Canada.

ending a phase of one type of experiment. Also by 1900, St. Joseph's began a decline from which the school never recovered, ending the experiment of the industrial school. Lastly, it was about this time that the new Indian Affairs officials in the federal Liberal administration began debating the reorganization of the schools in the North West and the redirection of educational aims. In 1898 John McLean, Secretary to the Department, wrote to the Indian Commissioner: "I bring the whole question of Indian education before you, as the largest expenditure is on our industrial and boarding schools in the North West." He suggested changes in Indian educational policy so that Indian students would be educated "simply with the idea of obtaining their livelihood as Indians and assuming the status of whitemen as soon as they might have the means of doing so." ¹³ The department subsequently began to give negative replies to the demands of the missionaries working in the educational field. The former emphasis upon educational matters was no longer present.

13

Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. Black Files. R.G. 10, Vol. 1121. John McLean to Mr. A.E. Forget, March 8, 1898. p. 511. Hereafter cited as the Black Files.

CHAPTER I

THE BLACKFOOT AND THE CRISIS OF CHANGE

The Blackfoot Indians, as other peoples, are the¹ product of their history and culture. Although basic human emotions transcend cultural differences, the expression of a people emerges from their distinct cultural context. Cultural impact upon the human psyche must not be underestimated as it provides the key to a better understanding of an alien group and each of its members. Thus a discussion of the beginnings of life on the Blackfoot reservations and the efforts by the Canadian government to transform the aborigine must be prefaced by some remarks on his cultural background.

The Blackfoot Nation consisted of three distinct tribes: the Siksika or Blackfoot Proper, the Pikuni or Piegan, and the Kainah or Blood.* Although each tribe was politically and economically independent, the people were bound by ties of common customs and beliefs, a common language and a similar way of life. Living in close proximity, they often intermarried and frequently combined their numbers

1

"Culture is a product; is historical; includes ideas, patterns, and values; is selective; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behavior and the products of behavior" as defined in Clyde Kuckhohn and A.L. Kroeber, Culture (New York: Random House, 1952), p. 308.

*

The name Blackfoot is interchangeable with Blackfeet, however for the purpose of this paper the former will be used. The three tribes forming the Confederacy will be denoted as the Blackfoot, and the single tribe as the Blackfoot Proper.

2

to fight against enemy tribes. Linguistically the Blackfoot belong to the Algonkian family, along with the Cheyenne, Gros Ventre, Plains Cree and Plains Ojibwa tribes. Various dialects within this family grouping require further classification.

3

To the present date, it has been difficult to ascertain the origin and early locations of the Blackfoot as little archaeological evidence exists. Relying mainly upon historical rather than linguistic and cultural evidence, Oscar Lewis, after an extensive study of early Blackfoot movements, formulated the following conclusion:

About 1730 the Piegan, as the frontier tribe of the Blackfoot, were on the Plains of the Eagle Hills in Saskatchewan, a distance of over 400 miles from the Rocky Mountains. Presumably, the Siksika and Blood were to the north and east. The Blackfoot were therefore on the eastern edge of the plains near the transitional region between the forests and plains. Shortly after 1730, the Piegan, followed by the Blood and Blackfoot, pushed west to the foothills of the Rockies, driving the Shoshone, Flathead, and Kutenai across the mountains.

4

By the middle of the eighteenth century, a reorientation of tribal locations in the Plains area was taking place. One of the primary causes for this was the securing

2

Rev. John MacLean, Social Organization of the Blackfoot Indians (Canadian Institute, 1892), pp. 249-250.

3

Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains (New York: The Natural History Press, 1963), p. 21.

4

Oscar Lewis, op. cit., p. 19.

of firearms by the Blackfoot from the Crees, probably in the year 1728; and shortly afterwards, estimated about 1730, the acquisition of the first horses from the Shoshone⁵ tribe. Both enhanced the tribe's mobility and aggressiveness. With this immense change in their lifestyle, the Blackfoot Confederacy soon became the undisputed power on the Northwestern Plains, occupying the territory south of the North Saskatchewan River, north of the tributaries of the Missouri, east to the Battle River⁶ and west to the Rocky Mountains. About the year 1780, the three tribes numbered approximately 15,000 people---the⁷ Piegiens comprising the largest group.

Generally the economic structure of a society affects and largely determines its political and social organization. So it was with the Blackfoot, the large game hunter. The buffalo was the central factor in his life; all else was subordinate to this. He followed the migrations; hence the nomadic existence, the tipis, the lack of abundant accumulated possessions, the simplistic band organization, the restless, spirited character, the emphasis on the

5

Ibid., p. 11.

6

Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada (Ottawa: Quenn's Printer, 1963), p. 317. Along with the horse and gun, the Blackfoot obtained iron-tipped lances and arrows. With the help of the Assiniboine and Cree, they were able to defeat the Shoshone about 1733.

7

John C. Ewers, The Story of the Blackfeet (U.S. Indian Service: Haskell Institute, Pamphlet No. 6, 1944), p. 7.

present, the reverence for nature and the animistic system of beliefs. The flesh of the buffalo was his source of food, the hide provided shelter and the fur became his means of exchange for liquor, guns, and ammunition.⁸ John C. Ewers illustrated Blackfoot ingenuity in the utilization of buffalo products, citing eighty-seven uses that they had for the animal.⁹ From this obvious dependence on the bison it would not be incorrect to describe their way of life as a "buffalo culture."

The basic political and social unit was the hunting band. In earlier days it consisted of about one hundred to two hundred tents in the summer and as few as ten to twenty tents in the winter. The summer camps were larger as enemy threats were more prevalent during this season; the winter camps diminished in size in fear of unsuccessful hunts and consequent food shortages. Very often the members of the smaller bands were all related in some way.¹⁰

Each band had a flexible, informal, yet well-developed political system. The social leaders of a unit became the headmen and from these a spokesman or chief was chosen.

8

Lucien M. Jr. Hanks and Jane Richardson Hanks, Tribe Under Trust (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 3.

9

John C. Ewers, The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), pp. 150-151.

10

John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), p. 9.

"He makes feasts, gives presents, buys medicines and supports ceremonies; thus making his home the center of social and ceremonial activities, the leadership of which he assumes." ¹¹ Not only wealthy, this "natural" leader was known for his impartiality, wisdom and generosity. Poor families, widows and orphans looked to him in times of need; no one was left uncared for in the tribe. Often, if members felt illiberally treated, they changed bands and pledged their allegiance to another chief.

The designated title of chief was mainly honorific; power was not vested in the office but in the person. The chief could exert great influence upon his people, yet any assumption of authority or superiority by him ¹² was resented and rejected by the tribe. The well-guarded democracy of the Indian prevented absolute control by any one person. In situations where chiefs negotiated peace settlements with neighboring tribes, often young braves nullified these in their desire for war---the means to secure horses and honors. As Chief Low Horn, speaking for the Piegans in 1854, explained:

The chiefs could not restrain their young men, but their young men were wild, and ambitious, in their turn to

¹¹

Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," Anthropological Papers, American Museum of Natural History, (Vol. 7, Part I, 1911), p. 23.

¹²

Ewers, The Blackfeet, p. 39.

be braves and chiefs. They wanted by some brave act to win the favor of their young women, and bring scalps and horses to show their prowess.¹³

The band sometimes turned against the chief for various reasons, as in the case of Little Dog, a Piegan Chief of the Black Patched Moccasins Band who was accused of betraying his people to the white man and was murdered in 1866.¹⁴ These were the occasions which revealed the Indian's thirst for freedom and independence and his impulsive nature. The chief's power was most effective if the situation was precarious, if minds were not made up, and he himself was adept at persuasion.

It was very seldom that a chief alone made any important decisions. A council of headmen, with the chief presiding, resolved the major decisions such as relations with other tribes or feuds among minor chiefs.¹⁵ The lesser decisions pertaining to daily camp activities demanded the band chief's attention and called for his advice. This would include choosing campsites, settling personal grievances among his people and similar duties. When the various bands assembled, as for the Sun Dance, a tribal chief was chosen who presided over the councils during the tribal encampment and with the help of other headmen

¹³

Ibid., p. 210

¹⁴

Ibid., p. 212.

¹⁵

Archdeacon S.H. Middleton, Kainai Chieftainship (Lethbridge: The Lethbridge Herald, n.d.), p. 12.

directed the men's societies.

Each tribe had numerous fraternal and military societies---"Iqunhkahsti" or All-Comrades---with their own songs, dances and rituals. ^{*} The members for these age-grade societies were chosen for bravery, generosity and honesty. ¹⁷ In times of war they were warriors; in times of peace, policemen. Their function was to regulate the communal hunt, tribal ceremonies, war parties and preserve order in the camp. This "legal" authority could impose severe penalties upon the offenders. The aim of punishment was not to execute revenge but to preserve peace in the community. Once the delinquent promised to conform, he was re-incorporated into society. The seriousness of the crime was measured by its consequences upon the welfare of the whole. ¹⁸

Although these Blackfoot societies indicated gradations of rank, there were no exclusive hereditary classes and vertical mobility was possible. The path to chieftainhood and social leadership was often through heroic deeds and success in warfare. This means of winning supporters

16

Wissler, op. cit., p. 25.

*

The most respected and elitist of these was the Horn Society consisting of twenty-five men elected for life. Also, there existed a women's fraternity, composed of the wives of the distinguished chiefs.

17

MacLean, op. cit., p. 254.

18

Fred Eggan, ed., Social Anthropology of the North American Tribes (2nd.ed.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 350.

was particularly glamorous for the younger braves who had high aspirations. Horse-stealing brought wealth and prestige and consequent recognition, while simultaneously being exciting and daring. This was the chosen avenue for getting ahead, particularly for the poor brave who could not rely on his father's wealth and influence.¹⁹ As a result, horse-raiding parties were continuously setting out. Alexander Henry, one of the first white men to make contact with the Blackfoot, wrote: "War seems to be the Piegan's sole delight; their discourse always turns upon that subject; one war-party no sooner arrives than another sets off. Horses are the principal plunder to be obtained from their enemies of the West."²⁰

This was even more so in the mid-nineteenth century. Horses increasingly symbolized power and wealth. The animal was used for hunting, war, transportation and as a medium of exchange. This "horse culture", as Oscar Lewis labelled it, made warfare an integral part of the Blackfoot economy. Once the Blackfoot became masters of the Western Plains, centralized, large scale tribal warfare to drive off enemy tribes diminished and the small raiding party in pursuit of enemy horses superseded all

¹⁹

Wissler, op. cit., p. 24.

²⁰

Alexander Henry and David Thompson, New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, ed. by Elliott Coues (3 vols.; New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), II, p. 726.

else. Horses could make profits for the owner as he could loan them out for raids and hunts, then collect half of the game or horses captured. Horses meant insurance for old age; liquor, tobacco, ammunition and goods from the trading posts.

The accumulation of wealth, the manipulation of property, spending, buying and selling, dominated Blackfoot life. Social position depended upon the liberal use of wealth, ostentatious display, and other forms of social investment. Every step in religious and secular ritual involved property payments, and the number of horses that changed hands in the bundle transfers, and the buying into societies was truly remarkable. The ownership of horses therefore became a major index of social status.²¹

The importance of "horse wealth" had various repercussions upon the Blackfoot way of life. Decentralization in political authority increased. An upsurge of individualism resulted as the aggrandizement of the person replaced tribal interests. Aspirations for success intensified outward hostility and augmented fighting. It is no surprise that the Blackfoot reinforced their reputation as the most warlike and aggressive Indians of the Northwestern Plains.

The women did not enjoy equal status and had limited privileges. J.W. Shultz who lived among the Piegiens and married one, described them as not overworked, treated well,

²¹

Lewis, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

²²

Ibid., p. 59.

and certainly not discontented. On the other hand Canon Stocken, a missionary who lived with the Blackfoot for a number of years on the reserve, saw women treated as a piece of male property, a chattel, rating with other possessions such as the horse, dog and gun.²⁴ The concept of the woman's role was not based upon any religious or moral grounds; it was founded upon the principles of property rights. The women appear to have unquestionably accepted their fate and complied with the established male thinking. Marrying early, fourteen being a common age, the young wife left her father's tent for her new husband's tipis, privileged in that she could retain all her personal possessions even if a separation should occur. Yet separations were rare. If the woman felt neglected or brutalized she had the right to leave her husband; the man's grounds for divorce were idleness and adultery on the wife's part.²⁵

The enormous gap between acceptable female and male behavior is exemplified by the sexual standards of the Blackfoot.

The male lover enjoys unusual liberties. His efforts at debauchery are not only tolerated but encouraged by his family and should he lead a married woman astray

23

J.W. Shultz, My Life as an Indian (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1907), p. 154. At the age of twenty, the author travelled west to Montana and there lived with the Piegiens.

24

Glenbow Foundation. Calgary. Canon H.W. Stocken, "Notes on Blackfoot Folklore" (MS, n.d.).

25

Wissler, op. cit., p. 13.

is heralded as a person of promise. Thus, while great pains are taken to safeguard young girls, boys are, if anything, encouraged to break through the barrier.²⁶

For the women, ridicule, cutting off the nose, or even death were the severe penalties for acts of infidelity or impurity.

The woman's duties consisted of digging wild roots and collecting berries, preparing the food, supplying fuel and water, tanning and dressing skins, making clothing, setting up lodges, rearing children and any other work that was considered below the dignity of the warrior.²⁷ A man would be disgraced and laughed at if he was seen carrying water or wood or cooking for himself, especially after marriage.

To have more than one wife was accepted by both sexes. Polygamy existed largely because it was a necessary expedient derived from their mode of life. The higher ratio of women to men because of deaths in warfare, and the burden of additional work as trading and feasting accelerated,²⁸ fostered this arrangement.

The Blackfoot valued family life, displaying an intense love for children. Never abusing or deserting them, they adopted those without parents. Contempt and ridicule

²⁶

Ibid., p. 9.

²⁷

Lowie, op. cit., p. 110.

²⁸

Walter McClintock, The Old North Trail (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1910), p. 186.

were the methods used to discipline the misbehaved. Punishments for the young consisted of a dash of cold water or tales of favorite boggies, physical force being unknown. Statements such as "Now, there is a coyote around; he will get you," were very popular.²⁹ Education was entirely pragmatic, aiding the children to meet the demands of the Indian's pattern of life and to adjust to any problems that might confront them in the future. It prepared the children for the life style that they would pursue when they grew up---whether hunter and warrior, wife and mother, medicine-man or chief.

This education-to-a-purpose enabled the child to become a functioning, contributing part of his society. Since all of the social institutions of his society were intact, he was able to become part of and relate to a stable social system. His identity was never a problem. His education had fitted him to his society; he knew who he was and how he related to the world and the people about him.³⁰

Although there was no formal learning, Blackfoot instruction stressed linguistic, physical and moral training. Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance of the Blood Reserve emphasized the importance of proper linguistics in Blackfoot culture. During the winter months, mothers would spend a couple of hours each day teaching their children

29

Chief Buffalo Child Long Lance, Long Lance (New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928), p. 4.

30

Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society (Edmonton:M.G. Hurtig, 1969), p. 52.

the correct tribal language, so as not to hinder the child's social status in later years. Proper grammar, including "nine conjugations, four genders and eighty forms" was drilled into the young and they in time passed it on to their own children.³¹

Physical training, concentrated mainly upon boys, was viewed as part of the growing up process. It included such things as a cold bath every morning, officiated at by the disciplinarians of the band, and numerous whippings by the adults using stout fir branches. This training was to enable the boys to lead courageous and stoic lives, prevent sickness and fatigue, and increase their capacity for enduring pain. The boys would be proud of the welts on their bodies, displaying them to each other. Often they conditioned their bodies themselves, by taking sharp bone needles and making "rips in each other's legs until they bled."³²

At a young age they were taught to ride horses: "Now, you stay there! You are four years old, and if you cannot ride a horse now, we will put girls clothing on you and let you grow up a woman,"³³ as well as make miniature bows and arrows and participate in the rougher games. Pastimes such as "throwing the stone" proved who among them had the strongest back and arms, and the popular foot races, run barefoot, tested who was "the fleetest." All aspired to be

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Chief Buffalo Child, op. cit., p. 7.

³²

Ibid., p. 10.

strong and healthy in body.

If a boy should be chosen to learn the cult of the medicines, he started his physical and mental training at the early age of twelve or thirteen, going through the "seven tents" over a period of ten to fifteen years. This rigid training enabled the chosen boy to master his physical being by his mental powers, "learning the art of conjuring, of learning the healing power of the various herbs, of learning to see into the future and of developing the power to get in touch with the spirits...."³⁴

While the boys developed their strengths, the girls were taught the merits of domesticity and chastity. They worked with their mothers, learning native crafts, tanning hides, and cutting moccasins and dresses.

Moral training for both sexes involved the indoctrination in Indian values, the proper beliefs, attitudes and conduct. Chief Buffalo Child described how each morning before sunrise "one of the old men walked through camp shouting out his lecture on how to live to be old and his advice on morals, courage and personal bravery."³⁵ The

33

Ibid., p. 3.

34

Ibid., pp. 48-49. Each year the chosen boy learned the art of a tent. There were two tents of bad medicine to study in order to be able to induce spells.

35

Ibid., p. 34.

children were taught to respect all the taboos of the medicine bundles and always to comply with the wishes of elderly people. Joking was to be taken graciously and retorts were not accepted when scolded by the adults. Retaliation was proper if a peer had been offensive; it was commendable to strike back. Idleness, cowardice, selfishness and dishonesty were not tolerated and the individual displaying them was either ridiculed or harshly treated. Honesty was so valued that "oaths were sworn to attest the truth of one's military claims, perjury being punished with death."³⁶ Laziness was so despicable that any youngster who showed it was condescendingly called an "also ran!" The girls were to be industrious, submissive and above all, chaste. Stoicism, in short, prevailed in the Indian character: "We never cried nor complained to our mother, lest we should be ridiculed in the eyes of the others."³⁷ Legends, characterized by positive and negative examples of behavior, were passed on from one generation to another, serving the purpose of entertainment and teaching.

The informal, yet purposeful, education system of the Indians was an important aspect of Indian life. The entire tribe took upon itself the responsibility of teaching the children the numerous skills that were essential for survi-

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Lowie, op. cit., p. 110.

³⁷

Chief Buffalo Child, op. cit., p. 21.

val, along with the established traditional value system that was to produce strong, virtuous and proud characters. The children, equally earnest, made every effort to master the lessons and live up to the standards that were desired and demanded.

Morality was mainly based on Indian theology, therefore when infamous acts took place, man's relation to man was sacrificed over man's relation to the supernatural. "The Indian believed that transgressions committed in the flesh must be paid for in flesh; [sic] if a debt was not paid during a life-time, he [the Indian] would become a lost spirit upon the earth and never reach the Happy Hunting Grounds." This concept of a life for a life often led to many deaths unless halted by influential friends or the buying off of those seeking revenge. Also, if the actual offender could not be found, anyone of his relatives would become the victim. In the case of a hunted white man, the first white man encountered after the incident occurred was killed. Their religion taught them to "give good for good and evil for evil."

38

Glenbow Foundation. G.H. Gooderham, "Biographies and Stories of James Wishart and High Eagle." (MS,n.d.).

39

Paul Kane, Wanderings of an Artist Among the Indians of North America (Revised Ed., Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig Ltd., 1968), p. 78.

40

Chief Buffalo Child, op. cit., p. 246.

The Blackfoot, like many primitive peoples who were not in control of their environment, succumbed in awe to the forces of nature and relied on their senses and reason to develop a nature-centered concept of all existence.

The source of all life---light---was found in the sun. As the chief holder and giver of power, the sun endowed all aspects of nature, such as mountains, forests, water, and winds with varying degrees of similar puissance. Birds and animals, especially the grizzly bear, white buffalo, wolf, beaver, raven and eagle, were held in great esteem as they were noted for their superior powers. It was common to call upon them in times of need.⁴¹ Each individual would have a special spirit, appointed by the Great Spirit, to look after him and guide him. This spirit was the giver of the person's medicine or luck and his medicine and death song. The latter was sung at the time of death and the former in times of trouble.⁴²

Human affairs were controlled not only by the Good Power, the Sun, but could be also affected by the Evil Spirit. Believing in its potency, the Indian lived in constant fear as evil could cause death, illness, loss of property and other misfortunes. These punishments came about if the taboos of the medicines were violated. These medicine bundles originated from a supernatural experience,

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McClintock, op. cit., p. 167.

42

Chief Buffalo Child, op. cit., p. 11.

usually brought about by visions or dreams. The beliefs or laws concerning them chained the Indian and exerted a tremendous influence upon his character and tribal life. As a result, superstition and symbolism permeated all his activities. Alexander Henry described in great detail their superstitious habits:

Some of them will not smoke while there is an old pair of shoes hanging up in the tent; some of them must rest the pipe upon a piece of meat; others upon a buffalo's tongue.... No person must pass between the lighted pipe and the fire, particularly when in a tent.

• • •
Their dreams are much attended to. If a Piegan dreams something particular, on awakening, he instantly rouses his wife, makes a speech about his dream, and begins to sing, accompanied by his woman, and sometimes all his wives join in chorus.⁴³

Dreams became reality, as the Indian believed that in them his shadow soul, temporarily released from the body, was communing with the spirits.

The medicine-man with highly developed powers underwent and understood supernatural experiences to a greater extent; he was the custodian of their religious rites and mysteries. He was able to manipulate weather, cure the sick and "exorcise evil spirits by means of incantations and magic arts."⁴⁴ Out of this credibility of the supernatural, he emerged a cultural hero.

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Henry and Thompson, op. cit., p. 727. See also Ewers, The Blackfeet, p. 126.

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McClintock, op. cit., p. 169.

Blackfoot cosmology posed several versions of creation and it appears that in earlier times the mythical being called Napi or Old Man was believed to be the Creator. As the Blackfoot encountered southern tribes, they focused more attention on the Sun as the protector of the universe. The famous legend of Scar-face who visited the Sun, Moon and Morning-star and returned to teach his people the ceremonies of worship, denotes how the Blackfoot obtained their traditions of Sun-worship.

Sun-worship culminated in the Sun-dance, more correctly known as the Medicine Lodge or Okon, and became the Blackfoot annual summer religious festival. The sacred occasion was held to make offerings to the Sun and pay tribute for his assistance and guidance. Sometime during the year, a virtuous woman, while praying for the life of someone dear to her, offered to "build" the Medicine Lodge as a sacrifice. Respected and revered as the nun is among Roman Catholics, she made the vow in the following manner:

Listen Sun. Pity me. You have seen my life.
You know that I am pure. I have never committed adultery with any man. Now, therefore, I ask you to pity me. I will build you a lodge. Let my son survive. Bring him back to health,⁴⁶

45

George Bird Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), p. 258. Sometimes the Old Man and the Sun were referred to as one. Otherwise, Napi was still prayed to, although all special favors were believed to be received from the Sun.

46

Ibid., p. 264.

The lodge was built the next summer in the traditional ritualistic way. The week of festivities included prayer and fasting as well as dancing, amusements and song. The self-torturing of the braves was a type of penance, an expression of self-denial to please their god; it was not only the means of becoming a warrior, although the element of bravery in the process could not be denied.*

The Blackfoot did not fear death. They believed that their souls would travel to the Sand Hills north of the Cypress Hills and there continue the pleasures of their present existence. Big Plume, a minor chief on the Blackfoot reserve, spoke of his peoples' convictions:

"At a distance," said the chief, "we can see them hunting buffalo, and we can hear them talking and praying and inviting one another to their feasts. In the summer we often go there, and we see the trails of the spirits and the places where they have been camping. I have been there myself, and have seen them and heard them beating their drums. We can see them in the distance, but when we get near to them they vanish. I cannot say whether or not they see the Great Spirit. I believe they will live forever."⁴⁷

There was no judgment at death, consequently there existed no concept of heaven or hell. If the Indian had received

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There exist different emphases on the meaning of the torture ceremony. Grinnell and Buffalo Child state that the torture must be endured before an Indian becomes a warrior; McClintock and Shultz stress the religious motive:

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Rev. E.F. Wilson, "Report on the Blackfoot." British Association for the Advancement of Science. Report of the North-Western Tribes of Canada, 1887. p. 187.

his vision and obeyed the medicines, he awaited no punishments. At burial, the dead were placed in the forks of trees, on a hilltop or on the ground in a ravine. The dead person's possessions were deposited by his body. Often the favorite horse of the deceased was killed at the burial place.⁴⁸

The Blackfoot culture changed considerably by the mid-nineteenth century from early times with the introduction of the gun, the horse, contact with other tribes, and the purchasing of the fur traders' goods. Nonetheless the transition was gradual and selective, so that the Blackfoot still maintained a great degree of independence. They chose to trade goods for their own personal gain and were not pressured to give up their ways of living. It was not until the late 1860s and the early 1870s that the Blackfoot greatly increased their trading activity and simultaneously increased their interaction with the whites. Concurrent with their extensive involvement in trade was the termination of the Hudson Bay Company's rule in the North West.

The decade following the transfer of the North West to the Dominion government proved to be a crucial period of change for the Blackfoot peoples. From the time of the coming of the free traders in 1869 to the disappearance of the buffalo in the winter of 1879, the Blackfoot experienced severe disruptions in their traditional mode of life. The

decade spelled death to their independent nomadic buffalo days and introduced a totally new way of existence on the reservation.

The late 1860s and the early 1870s particularly, can be described as the "time of troubles" for the Blackfoot. Those were the days of fire-water, disease, starvation and anxiety. The Indians became increasingly suspicious of the encroaching whites as the bison numbers dwindled each year and rumours spread about the "changes of Government, of rebellion and pillage of property, of the occupation of forts belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, and the stoppage
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of trade and ammunition." Throughout the North West confusion and unrest prevailed among the tribes. Sensing this rising uncertainty among the Indians, William Butler observed that "a state of society has arisen in the Saskatchewan which threatens at no distant day to give rise to grave complications; and which now has the effect of rendering life and property insecure."
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The situation in Southern Alberta was more precarious than elsewhere. An active trade between the American traders and the Blackfoot developed in the region. In the 1860s, with the discovery of gold in Montana, the tribes

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Butler, op. cit., p. 360. The rebellion referred to was the Red River uprising. Uncertainty increased as the Indians heard piecemeal information which they did not understand. Policies of extermination south of the border also compounded the alarm.

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Ibid., p. 366.

moved north and the traders followed. An increasing demand for buffalo hides arose as eastern manufacturers discovered more uses for them, thus opening up opportunities for the many restless and uprooted men who were being discharged from the armies involved in the American civil war. In addition the United States government's decision to enforce the law of 1832 which had prohibited the sale of intoxicants to the Indians, compelled many to take their illicit trade⁵¹ into the uncontrolled expanse of Canadian territory. As a result, the Blackfoot's interaction with the free traders accelerated, and the Indians became enmeshed in an economic system, which saw arms, ammunition and alcohol exchanged for robes and buffalo leather. With this trade, a period of anarchy set in. The free traders, with no authority to answer to except the frontier wilderness, seeking only immediate profit, established a lucrative trade which had numerous repercussions upon the Blackfoot.

Unlike the Company man, the free trader cared nothing for the future; the continuance and well-being of the native was no concern of his as long as he could get possession of the furs which the Indian had to barter. New and reprehensible practices in trade were introduced. Competition was keen....Alcoholic spirits, discontinued by the Co., in the Saskatchewan for many years, now poured in from the Red River and from across the border. In southern Alberta, American whiskey runners from Montana introduced the lawless spirit of the American frontier. Contemptuous of Canadian authority

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Gerald L. Berry, The Whoop-Up Trail (Edmonton:Applied Art Products Ltd., 1953), p. 42.

they built forts in Canadian territory
and debauched the Indian with alcohol.⁵²

Along what became known as the Whoop-Up Trail, from Fort Benton to the forks of the St. Mary and Oldman Rivers, traders came to seek their fortune. The first trading post, Fort Whoop-Up, was built in 1869, about two hundred miles northwest of Fort Benton, by J.J. Healy and A.B. Hamilton.^{*} The building of other trading posts such as Stand-Off, Slide-Out, Kipp, High River and Sheep Creek rapidly followed. In the trade transactions the Americans offered axes, hatchets, ammunition, guns, knives, pots, cloth, blankets, sugar, flour, tea, and salt as the main commodities. The profits from this legitimate trade were substantial; however greater gains could be made from the sale of the "rot-gut" alcohol so whiskey increasingly became the prime commodity of exchange.

Most of the Indians would take it diluted, as long as it had some "kick" and was hot to the taste, so many weird concoctions passed for whisky in the Indian trade. The Blackfoot liked their whisky strong, and insisted that it must be potent enough to burn, hence the term "firewater."⁵³

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George F.G. Stanley, The Birth of Western Canada (London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), p. 199.

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The first fort, officially called Fort Hamilton, was burned down by the Indians, but rebuilt within a short time. Healy was known to be a man of many enterprises : ferryman, prospector, publisher, sheriff, and whiskey trader.

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Berry, op. cit., p. 42.

These "weird concoctions" had a disastrous impact upon the Blackfoot. Many were killed, "some poisoned, some frozen to death whilst in a state of intoxication, and many⁵⁴ shot down by American bullets," The Blackfoot turned upon each other as well. In the year 1871, "eighty-eight of the Blackfeet Indians were murdered in drunken brawls amongst themselves, produced by the whiskey and other spirits supplied to them...."⁵⁵ Donald Graham, on a buffalo hunting expedition into central Alberta in 1872-73, recorded seventy deaths among the Bloods in a single winter and specifically cited the deadly effects of whiskey upon the Many Children or Mule Band and the All Tall People Band of the Bloods.

I was told of a family of Bloods called the Mule family. At one time they numbered twenty-eight lodges, approximately between fifty and sixty fighting men. A feud broke out between them and another branch of the same tribe, and at the time I speak of the Mule family had been reduced to two lodges and the survivors had taken refuge in the South Piegan camp in order to avoid complete extinction.⁵⁶

The problem of frequent intoxication was compounded by the lethal smallpox epidemic, the most deadly instrument in the destruction of the Indian. The disease had afflicted the tribes of the North West at different intervals since

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Alexander Begg, History of the North-West (3 Vols.; Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Company, 1894), I, p. 129.

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Stanley, op. cit., p. 199.

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Hugh A. Dempsey, "Donald Graham's Narrative of 1872-1873," Alberta Historical Review, (Vol. 4, Winter, 1956), p. 17.

the 1780s; however, the epidemic of 1869 was much more widespread, embracing the entire area of the North Saskatchewan. In the face of the scourge,

Surviving relatives went more and more for the use of alcohol; they endeavored to drown their grief in the poisonous beverage. They sold their robes and horses by the hundred for it, and now they were divided into several small parties afraid to meet.⁵⁷

The precise number of deaths caused by smallpox was difficult to determine although Father Scollen, a friend of the Blackfoot, estimated the numbers at between six and eight hundred.⁵⁸ A far greater number of deaths, 2,386, was cited⁵⁹ by Hugh Dempsey. These numbers are not surprising as the Indians were defenceless in combating the plague.

The people, huddled together in small hordes, were destitute of medical assistance or of even the most ordinary requirements of the hospital. During the period of delirium... they frequently wandered forth at night into the open air,... and frequently died from relapse produced by exposure....⁶⁰

The impact of the smallpox and the liquor trade upon the Confederacy was vividly described to the federal government by Father Scollen, who compared these people to the Blackfoot he had encountered about 1855:

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Begg, op. cit., p. 129.

58

Ibid., p. 130.

59

Glenbow Foundation. "A Blackfoot Winter Count" by Hugh A. Dempsey, 1965. Occasional Paper No. 1. p. 12.

60

Butler, op. cit., p. 130.

They were then a proud, haughty, numerous people (perhaps 10,000 on the British side of the line), having a regular politico-religious organization by which their thirst for blood and their other barbarous passions were constantly fired to the highest pitch of frenzy. Since that time their number has decreased to less than one half, and their systematic organizations have fallen into decay; in fact, they have been utterly demoralized as a people.⁶¹

Similar comments were submitted by employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and reinforced by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West Territories, Adams G. Archibald, and his successor, Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris. All noted the deteriorating situation in the North West and the need to introduce some instrument for enforcing laws.

Suggestions for controlling the resulting anarchy were not entirely new. Lieutenant Thomas Blakiston, R.A. on the Palliser expedition in 1857, reported that it would be wise "for the maintenance of law and order, the suppression of the liquor traffic and the preservation of peace with and among the Indian tribes, to establish a military police."⁶² A decade and a half later John A. Macdonald, the Canadian Prime Minister, responding to reports coming in from the West and concerned with the unpredictable state of affairs near the border, wrote to George-Etienne Cartier, a cabinet colleague:

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Begg, op. cit., p. 130.

⁶²

John Peter Turner, The North-West Mounted Police 1873-1893 (2 Vols.; Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), I. p.18.

There must be organized ere long for the North-West a mounted police. I quite agree with the views of Cyril Graham and the Hudson's Bay authorities on the matter. With emigrants of all nations flowing into that country we are in a constant danger of an Indian war.... This may be prevented by an early organization of a mounted police.⁶³

To examine the conditions more thoroughly and make well-defined recommendations for what was to be done, Captain Butler was asked to go on an expedition to the Saskatchewan in 1870 by Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. In 1872 Colonel P. Robertson-Ross, commanding officer of the Canadian Militia took on the same task for the federal authorities. Both came to the same conclusions and agreed that men must be recruited and sent to the Saskatchewan regions to bring order out of chaos, which was "indispensable for the peace of the country and welfare of the Indians" and that the "smuggling and illicit traffic in spirits and firearms be no longer permitted."⁶⁴

Subsequently, on May 3, 1873, the Canadian government gave its assent to a bill entitled: "An Act respecting the Administration of Justice, and for the establishment of a Police Force in the North West Territories." The first⁶⁵

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Macdonald Papers, John A. Macdonald to G. Cartier, June 16, 1871. Cited by Edwin Charles Morgan, "The North-West Mounted Police 1873-1883" (Unpublished MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1970), p. 134.

64

Canada. Sessional Papers, 1873. "Annual Report of the Department of the Militia and Defence," p. cxxxiii. Cited by Morgan, op. cit., p. 15.

65

Statutes of Canada. 36 Vic., Chapter 35. Cited by Turner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 95.

troop of the North West Mounted Police was dispatched to southern Alberta on July 10, 1874. Within approximately a year "Whoop-Up country" was a misnomer.

Legislation prohibiting liquor sales, the use of the poison strychnine, and the distribution of ammunition was enforced.^{*} Horse-stealing was brought under greater control and all acts of transgression against person or property were brought to trial. Both Indians and Whites were treated⁶⁶ equally before the law. Inter-tribal fighting was halted and a tone of stability emerged in the North West. The North West Mounted Police, in consistently upholding set standards, earned the respect of the Blackfoot. On behalf of his people Chief Crowfoot expressed his sentiments: "If the Police had not come to the country, where would we be all now? [sic] Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few of us, indeed, would have been left to-day...."⁶⁷

Nevertheless, the beneficial impact of the police needs qualification. The NWMP assisted in re-establishing the three tribes as a people. Yet, at the same time, the Blackfoot's anxiety about the future of their lands was not

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Statutes of Canada. 36 Vic., Chapter 39. Strychnine was used by both settlers and groups known as "wolfers". While they used it to trap animals, many Indian dogs died from it.

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Morgan, op. cit., pp. 223-224.

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Morris, op. cit., p. 272.

dispelled. Father Scollen wrote in 1876:

Although they are externally so friendly to the police and other strangers who now inhabit their country, yet underneath this friendship remains hidden some of that dread, which they have always had, of the white man's intention to cheat them;.... They think that the police are in the country, not only to keep out whiskey traders, but also to protect white people against them, and that this country will be gradually taken from them without any ceremony. This I can certify, for although they may not say so to others, yet they do not hide it from me.⁶⁸

The conditions they had recently experienced, the opening up of the West, the vague rumours that their land might be taken away from them and the noticeable depletion of the bison stirred the Blackfoot and heightened their uncertainty. This mental state helped to create a favorable situation for the Canadian government in subsequent negotiations. With the Blackfoot eager to discuss the future, government officials responded in 1877. At the Blackfoot Crossing in southern Alberta, the Blackfoot Proper, Blood, Piegan, Sarcee and Stoney tribes signed a peace treaty in which a payment of annuities was promised by the federal government, one square mile of land was allotted to every five persons, tools and agricultural implements were to be distributed, provision was made for medical services, and hunting and fishing rights were established. The clause discussing education was significant:

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Begg, op. cit., p. 130

The treaties provide for the establishment of schools, on the reserves, for the instruction of the Indian children. This is a very important feature, and is deserving of being pressed with the utmost energy. The new generation can be trained in the habits and ways of civilized life - prepared to encounter the difficulties with which they will be surrounded, by the influx of settlers, and fitted for maintaining themselves as tillers of the soil.⁶⁹

Although the treaty was signed, the significance of its terms did not have an immediate impact upon most of the Blackfoot. They collected their annual payments and persisted in hunting the bison. Only a small percentage remained on the reserve. It was not until the buffalo was too scarce to provide a living that the starving Blackfoot, without any choice, returned to the reserve. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney reported their pathetic condition as he saw them at the Blackfoot Crossing in July, 1879.

On arriving there I found about 1300 Indians in a very destitute condition, and many on the verge of starvation. Young men who were known to be stout and hearty fellows some months ago were quite emaciated and so weak they could hardly work; the old people and widows, who with their children live on the charity of the younger and more prosperous, had nothing, and many a pitiable tale was told of the misery they had endured.⁷⁰

The events of this decade left behind their stamp. The interdependence of the Indians and the government was established: the government sought Indian cooperation in

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Morris, op. cit., p. 292.

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Arthur G. Doughty and Adam Shortt, eds., Canada and Its Provinces (22 Vols.; Edinburg University Press, 1914), VII, pp. 600-601.

upholding peace and order and the Indians relied on government assistance as their economic base was destroyed. The government chose the treaty system as the first step of a series in solving the Indian Question of the North West. The intention was to segregate the Indians until they were ready to interact successfully with the surrounding white population. The government saw in the years ahead a transitional period for the Indian during which time he would learn the values and operative techniques of white society, eventually blending totally into the Canadian cultural milieu. A primary goal was the conversion of the Indians "into useful members of society and contributors to, instead of merely consumers of, the wealth of the country."⁷¹

This scheme has to be understood in the larger perspective of inspired nation development. The country had to be kept at peace; confederation had recently taken place and one outbreak had already occurred at the Red River settlement. The Indians had to be fitted into the building of a viable and unified country.

Meanwhile the Blackfoot had experienced a decade of traumas. Their livelihood was gone; their buffalo culture was disrupted; a new orientation toward life was demanded. They were witnessing changes around them, yet felt the lack of alternatives open to them. How quickly and readily would the Blackfoot shed all their traditions and adapt to

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Annual Report, 1891, p. x.

what was expected of them?

With the Indians on their reservation lands, no longer obstructing the expansion of settlement, the government, without consulting the aborigine, began formulating further Indian policies for the North West.

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES: PROMISES AND PLANS

Increasingly after 1870 Indian matters occupied the attention of the federal government. As treaties were signed and Indian policies formulated, the work of the branch concerned with Indian affairs demanded more and more time and resources. As a result of this greater involvement in native questions the need for changes in the entire management and administration of Indian affairs became apparent.

Prior to 1860, Indian matters were under the direction of the Imperial government. After that date the Crown's Land Department of the Province of Canada took over the administration from the Imperial government, the Commissioner of Crown Land becoming ex-officio Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. At Confederation the management of Indian questions was transferred to the Department of the Secretary of State. In 1873 the Department of the Interior was formed with the Minister acting as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and having the "control and management of the lands and property of the Indians in Canada." ¹ As new lands were added to the Dominion, the activity of the Indian branch increased. By 1880 the work

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Statutes of Canada. 36 Vic., Chapter 4, 1873.

of the branch had become so heavy that a new and separate department, the Department of Indian Affairs, was established under the provisions of the Act 43 Victoria, Cap.28, on 7 May, 1880. The functions of the department consisted of making and enforcing treaties, proposing legislation in regard to the Indians, the leasing and sale of Indian lands, regulating the liquor traffic, the educating of the Indians and encouraging industry upon the reservations.

With the formation of the new department, the Minister of Interior carried the added title of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. ^{*} In addition a Deputy Superintendent General was appointed to assist in dealing with the increased work confronting the department. The Deputy Superintendent General was responsible to the Minister and interpreted the Indian scene according to the information he received from the Indian Commissioner officiating at Regina. The Indian Commissioner had been appointed earlier by an Order in Council of 30 May, 1879 to supervise the implementation of policies, by directing "the operations of his subordinates at the different Agencies" and ensuring "the carrying out of all treaty stipulations and covenants

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From 1880 to 1936 the Minister of the Interior carried the added title of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs except for the years 1883 to 1887 when the work of the Interior Department was too heavy and the Minister was relieved of his duties which in turn were conferred upon Sir John A. Macdonald by the Order in Council passed on the 17 October, 1883.

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in good faith and to the letter."

As the land for reservations was surveyed, the reserves were grouped into agencies and placed under the direct supervision of Indian agents. As the government became involved with assisting the Indians, farm instructors, clerks, storekeepers and interpreters entered the employ of the department. Inspectors of agencies and later inspectors of schools were hired to report upon the conditions of the reservation Indians. Communications between Ottawa and the men "on the spot" passed through the Indian Commissioner's office, the Commissioner being both the receiver and transmitter of information, directing it into the proper channels.

During the Conservative Party's term in office, 1878 to 1896, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald, Lawrence Vankoughnet, Edgar Dewdney, Hayter Reed and, in an unofficial capacity, Nicolas Flood Davin had the greatest influence upon Indian policies and specifically educational policy in the North West. Of these, Hayter Reed, serving as Indian Commissioner, Commissioner and Deputy Superintendent

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Annual Report, 1880, p. ix.

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Canada. Parliament. Debates of the House of Commons (Ottawa: C.W. Mitchell, 1881), Sir John A. Macdonald, p.1352.

4

Vankoughnet served as Deputy of the Superintendent General from May 13, 1880 to October, 1893. His greatest concern was to bring a Christian morality to the Indians. He often clashed with Dewdney on the administration and policy of Indian matters, although there were no serious conflicts of opinion in educational affairs.

of Indian Affairs, "had won the confidence of the Indians to an extent that no other man in that department had ever done" and had displayed the greatest concern for implementing the policies that had been formulated.⁵

Generally the officials agreed upon the nature of the Indian character. The aborigines were seen as uncivilized heathen who had for hundreds of years lived with nature; a people lacking restraint and discipline, economically unstable, politically simplistic, socially immoral and culturally void. Edgar Dewdney called them "veritable Ishmaelites" who were governed by superstition and displayed an improvident nature with no thoughts of the morrow.⁶ The department officials concluded that the restless nature of the Indian, his desire for variety, his distaste for farm labor and a stationary way of life were all detrimental to his future success.

(Footnote 4 continued)

Dewdney was Commissioner from May 30, 1879 to July 3, 1888, as well as Lieutenant-Governor of the North West from December 3, 1881 until he was appointed Minister of the Interior on August 3, 1888. He served in this capacity until 1892. Dewdney pressed for better education programmes, but as Minister he stressed the need for cutting down expenditures, particularly on the industrial schools.

Reed replaced Dewdney as Commissioner on August 3, 1888. He was Deputy of the Superintendent General between October 2, 1893 and June 30, 1897.

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Debates. May 4, 1897. Mr. Foster, Conservative, York, p. 1712.

⁶

Annual Report, 1888, p. xii. See also Annual Report, 1885, p. 142.

The government believed its duty was, in the interests of the country and the natives, to raise the untutored savages from their backward condition to a civilized state. Civilization meant, in this context, the modes of thought and action that the Canadians practiced and permitted. The goal sought by the officials was eventual assimilation.

If the Indian is to become a source of profit to the country it is clear that he must be amalgamated with the white population. Before this can be done he must not only be trained to some occupation, the pursuit of which will enable him to support himself, but he must be imbued with the white man's spirit and impregnated by his ideas. The end in view in the policy adopted for the treatment of our wards is to lead them, step by step, to provide for their own requirements, through their industry, and while doing so, to inculcate a spirit of self-reliance and independence which will fit them for enfranchisement, and the enjoyment of all the privileges, as well as the responsibilities of citizenship.⁷

The government embarked upon a series of programmes in hopes of achieving these objectives. As the native settled upon his allotted land, the department set out to encourage him "to engage in the cultivation of the soil and the raising of cattle, and thus become ultimately self-supporting."⁸ In addition to distributing agricultural implements, seed grain and in some instances cattle, as stated in the treaties, the government assigned farming instructors to the reservations to teach the Indian the

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 165.

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Annual Report, 1880, p. xiii.

most rudimentary agricultural methods. The programme was begun in 1879 and within three years the Indian department had in its employ in Manitoba and the North West, twenty-six farm instructors who were to teach the Indian, by precept and example, the arts of husbandry. These instructors were responsible to Mr. Wadsworth, the Inspector of Agencies, plus Commissioner Dewdney and the Assistant Commissioner, Mr. Elliott.⁹

During the earlier period of instruction and learning, the government appropriated, apart from the yearly annuities and supplies, large sums of money for provisions for the destitute Indians.¹⁰ As expenditures for Indians in Manitoba and the North West increased three-fold between 1878 and 1884, the Conservative administration under John A. Macdonald became the object of repeated attacks.¹¹ In the House of Commons, the Opposition criticized the department for extravagance caused mainly by inefficient administration and improper application and distribution of funds by incompetent and corrupt employees.¹² The Conservatives

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Debates. May 3, 1882. John A. Macdonald, p. 1291.

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Stanley, op. cit., p. 226.

11

Debates. March, 1884. Mr. Mills, Bothwell, the Liberal critic on Indian policy, p. 841.

12

There is much criticism of Conservative management throughout most of the debates on Supply. See specifically Debates. April 14, 1886, pp. 719-744.

were accused of indulging the Indians and perpetuating a policy which had in view that "the Indian should not have a wrong done to him."¹³ Other sources condemned the paternalism of the government, complaining that "so long as the Indians are fed by the government," they would continue to be "useless, degraded, thieving vagabonds and beggars, a menace to the prosperity of the west and a stumbling block¹⁴ in the way of its development" for generations to come.

The Department of Indian Affairs defended its expensive¹⁵ and protective policy. The higher expenditures were explained by the increased activity and expansion of the department; the protective measures were vindicated as a necessity in assisting the Indians in their adjustment from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life. To let the Indians "shift for themselves" at a time like this would be, in¹⁶ Macdonald's words, "a cruelty of the worst kind."

The most helpless of the tribes were the buffalo hunting Plains Indians. Unlike the woodland tribes which continued to fish, trap and hunt small game, the Plains nomad had to adopt a totally new means of securing a livelihood

¹³ Debates. May 5, 1880. Mr. Paterson, Liberal, South Brant, p. 1990.

¹⁴ Public Archives of Canada. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 213. An unidentified newspaper article of March, 1886.

¹⁵ Canada. Department of Indian Affairs. "The Facts Respecting Indian Administration in the North-West." 1886.

¹⁶ Debates. May 5, 1880. John A. Macdonald, p. 1991.

and were subjected to a radically new way of life. The possibility of ambitious and abusive white encroachment upon Indian lands resulted in government support and perpetuation of tribal property and a reluctance to divide the reserves, giving individuals deeds in fee simple. The department also saw the issuing of provisions a necessity if peaceful relations, still a top priority, were to be continued with the past warriors. "It was cheaper to feed them than to fight them" remarked Macdonald, adding that, in any case, "humanity will not allow us to let them¹⁷ starve." In his rebuttal to criticism, he acknowledged the need for civilizing and utilizing the Indian; however; "if the experiments sometime fail, and if the expense seems large, Parliament must put up with it because there is no¹⁸ other way."

Concurrently with the government's protective policy, various schemes were implemented "to strengthen the individuality of each member of a band" and inspire his traditional "love of gain."¹⁹ Cattle were given to individuals and high prices were offered for the beef. The experiment of paying according to the amount of labor exerted was attempted: able-bodied men who did not work had their²⁰ rations held back as long as possible. Throughout the

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Debates. March 11, 1881. John A. Macdonald, p. 1351.

¹⁸

Ibid., p. 1352.

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Annual Report, 1893, p. xvii.

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Annual Report, 1880, p. 102.

years, every attempt was made to instil a sense of proprietorship in the Indian: "The policy of destroying the tribal or communist system is assailed in every possible way, and every effort made to implant a spirit of individual responsibility instead."²¹ The government's "hard line" approach was exercised more each year. In 1890 Dewdney wrote to the Superintendent General that the principle the department was applying towards the Indians was: "if a man will not work neither shall he eat."²²

The government's optimism was not unfaltering. In spite of persistent attempts to bring about a self-sufficient native population, progress was slow. Many department officials gradually came to the same opinion that Nicolas Flood Davin had voiced in his report on industrial schools in 1879. In writing of the Indian adult, Davin had stated: "he can be taught to do a little at farming and at stock raising and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all."²³ Although annual reports spelled out "peace, progress, and prosperity" and cited the increases in the amount of land cultivated and the number of cattle owned, the earlier high expectations of the Indians were declining.

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 158.

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Annual Report, 1890, p. xi.

²³

P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 91. Nicolas Flood Davin to Macdonald, March 14, 1879. Hereafter cited as the Davin Report.

In 1892 Edgar Dewdney, as Minister of the Interior, concluded that

if we were to withdraw the close supervision we have today on the Indians, especially in the West, they would retrograde and become as ignorant, as indolent and incapable of providing for themselves, 24 as they were before we took charge of them.

What was to be done with the Indian? When the Prime Minister remarked in 1884---"if he knew how much worry these Indians sometimes cause me"---he revealed the frustration the department often felt in regard to the Indian question. 25 The means to teach the Indian self-reliance had been established, but would total self-reliance ever be achieved and maintained without constant government supervision and encouragement? It became apparent that the Indian's sense for self-sufficiency and the successful incorporation of the Indians into white citizenry could only be attained with a complete cultural transformation. Thus, the programme of bringing the native into civilization via the work ethic was only one aspect of Indian policy. * While efforts were continued to erode the Indians' ways, attention focused more upon the child and the school for securing permanent changes.

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Debates. June 30, 1892, E. Dewdney, p. 415.

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Debates. March, 1884, John A. Macdonald, p. 106.

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This refers to such practices as polygamy, sun-dance worship, nomadic habits, and the antipathy of the Indian to manual labor.

The basic philosophy of the Conservative approach rested on the belief that education was "the prime principle in the civilization and advancement of the Indian Race" and if you could educate an individual you could educate a race provided the circumstances were favorable and the subjects young enough to be molded.²⁶ The child was envisioned as one who would readily shed and bury his aboriginal customs and ideas and acquire the ideas and habits of the white man. The essence of the educative process was its power to perform this task, and it was the government's responsibility to see it carried out, as Dewdney wrote in 1892:

The sacred trust with which Providence has invested the country in the charge of and care for the aborigines committed to it carries with it no more important obligations than the moral, social, literary and industrial training of the Indian youth of both sexes, and money expended with this object in view must surely be regarded as well spent, accomplishing as it will, through the education and training imparted, not only the emancipation of the subjects thereof from the condition of ignorance and superstitious blindness in which they are and their parents before them were sunk, but converting them into useful members of society and contributors to, instead of merely consumers of, the wealth of the country.²⁷

In theory, education was not to be simply "good enough for the Indian." Hayter Reed continuously emphasized the importance of an adequate education. In 1895 he wrote: "no Indian training is right that does not

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Annual Report, 1876, p. 5.

27

Annual Report, 1891, p. x.

endeavor to develop all the abilities, remove prejudice against labor and give courage to compete with the rest of the world." ²⁸ There was to be no limit placed on the progress of Indian children: those who had special aptitudes were to be encouraged "to become teachers and clerks in connection with the Department as well as fitted to ²⁹ launch out on commercial and professional careers."

Vankoughnet optimistically cited examples of Indian representation from Ontario's industrial schools "in all learned professions, as well as in every other honourable ³⁰ vocation." Similarly, Dewdney gave his full support to an education "of a literary, industrial, and where there is sufficient genius displayed to justify it, of a professional character." ³¹ Theoretically, the Indian was to get equal opportunities with special programmes and emerge a benefit to the country. The expenses of the programme were seen as justifiable in view of the results that were to be obtained: "If the schools be regarded as the chief factors of the great transformation that is being wrought, it would seem a natural and logical sequence to establish as many ³² as the country's finances will admit of."

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Annual Report, 1895, p. xxi.

29

P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, The Davin Report, p. 15.

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Annual Report, 1892, p. xi.

31

Annual Report, 1888, p. xii.

32

Annual Report, 1895, p. xxv.

The outstanding feature of the educational system was the denominational school. The missionary had entered the North West on the heels of the traders, intent on bringing the heathen into the Christian fold. Part of the evangelizing process was the establishment of mission schools to teach the young. Unlike the trader and the explorer, the missionary expected a complete transformation of the Indian's mode of life, denying him choice and demanding total adherence to the teachings of the missionary.

The Church of England's instructions were "to give the Indian a home for the wigwam, implements of husbandry for the chase and schools and churches for his heathen dances and grand medicine."³³ Similarly the message of instruction to the Roman Catholics read: "The missionaries shall take a special care of Christian education among the youth, and for this they shall establish schools and catechism courses³⁴ in the localities which they may have occasion to visit."

The missionaries hoped to teach the children English and give them a strong religious foundation for developing their character---"once their lives are touched with Divine Love, they will think differently"---for to teach and not to teach of God was inconceivable as the two were insepar-

33

T.C.B. Boon, The Anglican Church from the Bay to the Rockies (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 106.

34

A.G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada (Toronto: The Musson Book Company, Limited, 1910), p. 106.

able. Bishop Taché's opinion as portrayed by Father Morice in The History of the Catholic Church, epitomized the approach of the Churches:

To him (Bishop Taché) the school was but the adjunct of the Church and the complement of the Christian Home. He could not conceive of any divorce between religion and instruction. In this he was but following all the really great minds of the age.³⁶

In view of the absence of a Christian home and church in the Indian children's lives, the school became the prime agent for conversion. Civilizing and christianizing went hand in hand. To be successful Christians, the children were to be disciplined and taught that "industry is good,
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 ... punctuality is important, sobriety essential." These aims coincided with the government's objectives. Without recognizing a conflict in priorities, the government and the Churches formed an alliance to transform the native character, each believing that "the nature of human hearts is very similar everywhere; if one can reach the one, he
³⁸
 can reach the other."

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E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society (4 Vols.; London: The Church Missionary Society, 1899), Reel One, p. 21.

36

Morice, op. cit., p. 152.

37

Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage (U.S.A.: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 13.

38

Glenbow Foundation. Personal Papers of Canon H.W. Stocken, 1955. p. 56.

The missionary's involvement with the native was not broken with the transfer of the North West to the Dominion. It increased as Indians settled upon the reserves and became more accessible for contact. The government's participation in mission schools in the North West began in the 1870s when "some four denominations applied to the government for aid for their schools, and the policy adopted at the time application was made was to give so much for each pupil, according to the average attendance ... up to the sum of \$300."³⁹ This precedent, along with other supporting factors, established the sectarian system in the North West. In spite of periodic accusations that the system merely "turned out one a Presbyterian, another an Episcopalian and so on" the government did not change the arrangement.⁴⁰ After all, the missionary was sincere and enthusiastic, with limitless patience and perseverance, and traits like these were difficult to find among the laity. John A. MacDonald gave his total support, and Dewdney, along with others, cited examples of the "tractable Indians" who had had contact with the clergy.⁴¹ In addition, it was more economical to engage these apostles of Christ as they did not demand high remuneration. One member of the House

³⁹
Debates. March 9, 1893. Mr. Mills, Liberal, Bothwell, p. 2098.

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Debates. June 22, 1894. Mr. Fraser, Liberal, p. 4857.

⁴¹
Annual Report, 1880, p. 102.

summed up the official point of view on this debate:

If these Indians are to be civilized,
I think they must also be Christianized;
it is necessary to carry on the two branches together and I think there is no machinery which the Government could adopt which would be either so efficient or so economic as that which the Government has carried on in the past.⁴²

Guidelines for the establishment and operation of denominational schools were few. According to the Indian Act, chiefs, with the approval of the Governor-in-Council, were given authority to decide

what religious denomination the teacher of the school established on the reserves shall belong to: Provided always that he shall be of the same denomination as the majority of the band; and that the Protestant or Catholic minority may likewise have a separate school.⁴³

Chiefs were also given the power to frame any rules and regulations in regard to "the construction of and maintaining in repair of school houses."⁴⁴ The designation of this authority rested upon the assumption that denominational schools would be established, precluding any choice on the part of the Indians. In essence, no formal, static contracts existed. Churches took the initiative to build schools in a particular location with the approval of

42

Debates. March 9, 1893. Mr. O'Brien, Conservative, Muskoka, p. 2100.

43

Statutes of Canada. "The Indian Act." (Ottawa: MacLean, Roger & Co., 1884), p. 570.

44

Statutes of Canada. Vic., 32-33, Chapter 6, 1869.

the government and the sanction of the Indians. On application, they were granted a sum of money by the government, issued materials and supplies, and in the case of day schools, the teachers were placed on the government payroll. Financial arrangements between the government and the Churches depended on the type of school in operation.

The day schools, situated on the reserves, were the first to be introduced. Treaty terms called for the establishment of day schools "when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers." ⁴⁵ The natives' slow settlement upon the reservations, the government's preoccupation with other Indian matters, and the orientation of the missionaries to the new situation, resulted in an unsystematic, generally slow-to-get-started, day school system. In time the different Missionary Societies increased their requests for building. The department responded with an allocation of one hundred dollars towards the construction of the schoolhouse and correspondingly set the terms of teacher salaries.

A salary of \$300 per annum is paid to the teacher of each school wholly supported by the Government, and \$12 per annum for each pupil over the number of 25, and up to the number of 42; the whole not to exceed \$504 per annum. The teachers of such of those schools as receive aid from Missionary Societies receive from the Department, in addition to such aid, the sum of \$12 per capita per annum on an average

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Morris, op. cit., p. 371.

attendance, not to exceed 25 pupils nor
\$300.⁴⁶

The day schools, whose purpose was to give a "normal" schooling, proved to be a failure. The influence of the home environment upon the children, chronic absenteeism, teacher incompetence and inadequate facilities and supplies thwarted progress.⁴⁷ Teaching conditions were hardly inviting. The "crowded, dingy, and too often dirty huts" attracted neither teachers nor students.⁴⁸ Teachers were forced to live in either a part of the schoolhouse or with an Indian family as no teacher residences were provided.⁴⁹ The salaries were very low. As late as 1907 three hundred dollars was the sum paid to teachers in Indian schools while teachers in country districts at non-Indian schools were obtaining from five hundred to six hundred and fifty dollars annually.⁵⁰

The government made some attempts to rectify the problematic situation. Midday lunches were provided at the schools, clothes were distributed and towels and soap were

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Annual Report, 1882, p. 251.

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All these factors are discussed throughout the Annual Reports and correspondence. See for example Annual Report, 1883, pp. 144-146 and Annual Report, 1891, p. 100.

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Annual Report, 1890, p. 66.

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Annual Report, 1892, p. v.

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3965, Salaries. Martin Beuson to the Deputy Superintendent, Oct. 9, 1907.

supplied. Buildings and facilities were gradually improved and expanded. As inspection became more thorough, higher demands were placed upon the teachers' performance and higher standards were set for the curriculum. On the other hand, teacher qualification was not upgraded. No teacher training programmes were devised to prepare teachers for Indian schools and salaries remained the same. In 1881 John A. Macdonald had spoken of the need for excellent teachers⁵¹ in Indian schools; in 1889 his tone on the subject was uninspiring, defeatist and unconcerned:

Very high educational requirements are not required for an Indian teacher. If he speaks English and Indian, and teaches the children to read and write the cipher, that is about all there is required. You cannot get men of high attainments to go into those schools at all, and \$300 has been sufficient to obtain the description of teacher required for these Indian schools.⁵²

The government's concern and output in regard to the day schools had been minimal. As inspectors reported little achievement, the department decided to circumvent the day schools and replace them wherever possible by the boarding schools. By 1888 the phasing out programme had begun. In the meantime the government began focusing greater attention upon a concomitant experiment---the industrial school.

51

Debates. March 11, 1881. John A. Macdonald, p. 1347.

52

Debates. April 10, 1889. John A. Macdonald, p. 1170.

The industrial institutions established by the government in 1883 were modelled essentially after those in the United States. In 1879 Nicolas Flood Davin toured the United States to make a detailed study of President Grant's practice of "aggressive civilization" in solving the American Indian question.

On his return, Davin made several recommendations for the establishment of Canadian Indian industrial schools. He advocated denominational schools as long as equal opportunities were given to all interested Churches. "Spheres of influence" should be agreed upon by the different groups, so that conflicts would not arise among the religious bodies from building too closely. Religious training should go pari passu with citizen training, for to undermine the Indian's theological beliefs and not to substitute Christian ones in their place would result in the Indians possessing "the worst features of barbarism."⁵³

On the question of school attendance, Davin suggested that it be made compulsory after the tribes became "more amenable to the restraints of civilization," and in the meantime inducements should be offered to the parents to send their offspring to the schools, and rewards given to the children themselves.

The students should be taught by teachers carefully selected for their intellectual and moral qualities, as well as their enthusiasm, patience and energy. In addition, the teachers should have a fair knowledge of farm work. The salaries should correspond to the qualifications of the applicant and should be high enough to attract teachers of good calibre. To ensure that students were progressing in their learning, frequent inspections were to be made by competent individuals to prevent the poor teaching that was so common in Indian schools.

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The report's running theme of success supplemented the government's view that education of the young, under the proper circumstances, was the panacea for all problems. The government embarked upon a programme which was envisioned to resolve future Indian-White relations. If the experiment should fail, the efforts of the department to give the Indian youth all possible opportunity for self-expression would absolve the government of any guilt in its treatment of the Indian population and would settle the role of the Indian in white society, "honourably and justly."

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With one eye on the prepared paper and the other on the situation in the North West, the government made its plans for the industrial schools. On July 19, 1883, an Order in Council established three industrial institutes in the

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Ibid., p. 7

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Annual Report, 1890, p. 139.

North West. High River and Qu'Appelle were the chosen locations for the Roman Catholic schools; Government House at Battleford was the chosen place for the Church of England school. The principals in charge were Father A. Lacombe, Father J. Hugonnard and the Rev. T. Clarke respectively. Approximately forty-three thousand dollars were voted for all three schools which were initially to house about thirty children each. The money was to cover building expenses, equipment, food and clothing for the children and salaries of the employees.*

The lines of communication and authority between the Churches and the government were not clearly defined at that time, as Dewdney's inquiry revealed:

The question of working the establishments will have to be considered and well understood before they are opened. The clergy would like to have the entire control but I fancy that is not the intention of the Government, although I am not sure but that they would make the money go farther than we can.⁵⁶

No formalities encircled the arrangements, although the government made it clear that these were government institutions and all concerned would have to comply with any regulations made by Ottawa.

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P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 213. E. Dewdney to Macdonald, August 10, 1883.

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The positions and remunerations of the staff included: principal, one thousand two hundred dollars per annum; assistant, eight hundred per annum; matron, four hundred per annum; farmer, sixty per month; cook, two hundred and forty per annum. See Debates. May 22, 1883. Sir Hector Langevin, Conservative, Three Rivers, p. 1376.

Financial arrangements, a plague to the government throughout the period, changed over the years. Initially the department appropriated sums to meet the schools' requests. As expenses soared, the government introduced a per capita system to take effect July 1, 1893 whereby each school would obtain a fixed rate depending on its conditions and locality.⁵⁷ Along with the new financial arrangement the terms of operation became more clearly defined. Management and government were jointly responsible for maintaining buildings; the former doing the labor and the latter providing materials. All school supplies, as for the other schools, were to be distributed by the Government's Stationary Office under the supervision of the Secretary of State. All expenses, including maintenance and salaries, were to be paid by the management out of the per capita grant. Management was responsible for maintaining a certain standard in instruction and dietary and domestic comfort. The government had the right to dismiss teachers or other employees at its discretion and make any changes that appeared appropriate at any time. Parents of children who attended school were not to be taxed in any way. The number of children in attendance was

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The per capita rates set were: \$115.00 for Qu'Appelle
\$140.00 for Battleford
\$130.00 for High River.

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to be authorized by the Commissioner.

This forced system of economy to reduce operational costs through efficiency was not altogether successful. The missionaries professed that the amounts allocated were insufficient for all the necessary expenses, which included new buildings, repairs, trade instruction, tools, implements, food, clothing, medicine, laundry and travelling expenses. Although some of the Conservatives were displaying doubts---as Minister of the Interior, Dewdney wrote in 1891: "the cost of Industrial schools is unnecessarily
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high and without commensurate results"---the government felt it could not ignore its own schools and continued to support them both morally and financially. As a result, an Order in Council of the 27th of March, 1895 authorized the payment of deficits of certain industrial institutes in
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the North West.

While financial terms were being defined, the government delineated guidelines in other matters. The industrial institutions were to be located a fair distance from the reservations to ward off the influences of home life, yet close enough to "civilization" so the children could obtain

58
Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1111, E. Dewdney to the Privy Council of Canada, August 19, 1891.

59
Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3675, School Establishment. E. Dewdney to the principal at Qu'Appelle, April 13, 1891.

60
Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1118, Private Letterbook. Superintendent General to the Governor General in Council, June 27, 1896.

the benefits of contact with white society. The government's wish was to secure as many children as possible and virtually isolate them from their home environment until their Indian ways were fully nullified. Hayter Reed confirmed these aims in the Annual Report for 1895.

If it were possible to gather in all the Indian children and retain them for a certain period, there would be produced a generation of English speaking Indians, accustomed to the ways of civilized life, which might then be the dominant body among themselves, capable of holding its own with its white neighbours; and thus would be brought about a rapidly decreasing expenditure until the same should forever cease, and the Indian problem would have been solved.⁶¹

The significance of "if it were possible", stated as late as 1895 by a man who was earnestly working with the Indians, gives insight to the tremendous gap that existed between the theory and practice of the programme. To begin with, to secure the children and then to keep them in isolation was not an easy task. Throughout most of the period under study the government was plagued with the problems of inadequate attendance and frequent disruptive visitations by friends and relatives at the schools.

The government attitude toward the attendance question changed gradually over the years as a result of numerous requests by the missionaries and certain officials who were determined to make a success of the industrial school.

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Annual Report, 1895, p. xxiii.

Initially the matter was left in the school management's hands, but as the unanimous cry for assistance swelled, the issue could not be ignored. Those in charge of the schools demanded that the children should be theirs to work with and continually sought the department's cooperation in finding suitable children, introducing some restrictions on their stay, and convincing the parents of the value of education. Father Lacombe, writing to the Indian Commissioner in 1885, strongly suggested that agents or police should be given the authority to return "willing-⁶²ly or unwillingly" those who leave the institutions.

Vankoughnet summed up what was the department's answer for many years. "It would greatly excite, I fear, the Indians and we have no means, if we did endeavor to make the attendance at schools compulsory, for punishing those who would disobey the regulations." The measure would un-⁶³doubtedly "cause great discontent." The prevailing opinion was that in time the Indians would appreciate the benefits of the schools, and meanwhile the task called for patience, perseverance, and persuasion, but no coercion. At the same time rewards were issued for attendance, in hopes of improving the situation. As persuasion of this type brought few results, Hayter Reed introduced stronger

62

Oblate Archives. Lettres du Père Lacombe. Lacombe to the Indian Commissioner, June 12, 1885.

63

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1105, Private Letterbook. Vankoughnet to Dewdney, July 20, 1891.

measures to enforce attendance. By the late 1880s annuities were being withheld from those who did not send their school age children to any of the schools.⁶⁴

Because the situation still left much to be desired, the government introduced compulsory education for Indian children between the ages of six and sixteen by an Order in Council on March 28, 1895. There was to be strict enforcement of the regulations so any Indian Agent, Justice of the Peace, employee of the Indian Department or constable had the authority "to arrest without a warrant any child found in the act of escaping from any industrial and boarding school."⁶⁵

The problem of frequent visitors at the school was treated in much the same manner as the attendance question: leniency was replaced by firmness. When the schools first opened, the policy laid down permitted parents to visit their children once in every two weeks at the most. This communication proved ineffectual. At their pleasure, friends and relatives camped nearby and entered the grounds and classroom causing a constant unrest among the pupils. In 1891, he, Hayter Reed, stated that visitations must be "severely discouraged" and eventually entirely discontinued.

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 170.

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1116, School Branch Letter-book. Superintendent General to the Governor in Council, March 28, 1895. The compulsory attendance approach also failed. See Chapter Three for a full discussion.

Indians were forbidden to come to the schools without a pass; principals were instructed not to give out food to the visitors unless the visitors' permits so stated.⁶⁶

The principals' reaction was not altogether favorable to the new ruling. Some of the missionaries strongly felt that by feeding, with discretion, the visiting Indians, prejudice against the schools would diminish. Also, management found it difficult "to deny parents, when passing, the sight of their children."⁶⁷ But Hayter Reed justified the new approach as "the truest form of charity" as the hardships were only a temporary means to an end. The goals of the school would never be reached if only half-hearted⁶⁸ methods were used.

The goals were the eradication of Indianness by teaching the students the English language, rudimentary academics, white values and a vocation for the future. The government's emphasis was naturally on the latter, hoping that "a complete training in industries and in domestic economy" would⁶⁹ ensure the "elevation of the race." The industrial schools were to provide facilities for the learning of trades, inclu-

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3675, School Establishment. Reed to the Deputy Superintendent, May 20, 1891.

67

Ibid., Father Hugonnard to Dewdney, May 5, 1891.

68

Ibid., Reed to the Deputy Superintendent, May 20, 1891.

69

Annual Report, 1894, p. xxi.

ding carpentry, shoemaking, printing, tailoring, blacksmithing, mechanical engineering and baking. The greatest emphasis was upon farming especially in the later 1890s. Agricultural methods were to be taught to all boys of appropriate age.

Concurrently the girls were engaged in domestic duties: cooking, baking, mending, sewing, washing, and cleaning. The inclusion of girls in the industrial institutes came shortly after the schools were begun in 1883, with Vankoughnet's request that the institutes accept students of both sexes.⁷⁰ The officials hoped to see the educated marrying each other. A marriage comprised of a "civilized" husband and an "uncivilized" wife was seen as a disaster:

if they do not themselves relapse into savagery as a consequence, the progeny from these marriages following the examples and teaching of the mother will not improbably adopt the life and habits of the pure Indian.⁷¹

The school's objective, to negate "the life and habits of the pure Indian," was viewed as absolutely necessary if the Indians were ever to become self-supporting. The children were to be kept at the school until "their characters shall have been sufficiently formed as to ensure as much as possible against their returning to the uncivilized mode

70

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1086, Private Letterbook. Vankoughnet to Macdonald, November 11, 1884. There was complete support for mixed education from all sources.

71

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1087, Private Letterbook. Macdonald to the Privy Council of Canada, December 31, 1884.

of life."⁷² The course in ethics was one means of building up an unwavering character. The virtues of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, efficiency, independence, thrift, honesty, duty and patriotism were all highly esteemed and earnestly indoctrinated. "Labor the law of life" might well have been the chosen motto, as one of the primary aims of the government was to make sure "prejudice against labor"⁷³ was removed.

Indefatigable efforts were exerted to make the Indian child understand the concept of private possessions and become aware of individualism. They were to be imbued with the desire to become self-supporting, and not merely taught the skills of a trade. Inspector MacRae emphasized the need for this type of education:

Until it is clearly felt that the primary aim is to produce a moral, industrious, white character---even unlettered---with a cultivated antipathy to that which stands against, and sympathy with that which stands for, civilization, rather than a lettered, savage nature with increased capacities for doing, but without desire to do and to do well, education of a true sort is not even conceived.⁷⁴

On the other hand, academics were not to be ignored. Initially the curriculum was left in the hands of the school authorities and so it varied from teacher to teacher or school to school. The inevitable result was an unsyste-

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Annual Report, 1896, p. xxiii.

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Annual Report, 1895, p. xxi.

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Annual Report, 1891, p. 101.

matic, poorly organized system with no standards in teaching or curricula. There existed no guides or common handbooks for teachers; the same books that were used in English schools were used in Indian institutes. In 1885 Dewdney denounced the government's handling of the school system; by 1888 Vankoughnet called for a fixed curriculum to be implemented in the higher schools. It was not until the beginning of the 1890s that serious changes were made in the classrooms. MacRae and Betournay, inspectors of schools, started improvements by calling for an elementary handboók, compiled by successful and experienced Indian school instructors, for all teachers. The course of studies was subsequently amended and enlarged, introducing new ideas to make instruction more suitable to the needs of Indian children. Recommendations were made for the use of different, better and more appropriate texts. The department was becoming aware that educating Indian children was not the same as educating white children.

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The slate of subjects evolved from scripture, reading, spelling, arithmetic and writing to more sophisticated studies organized into six levels called standards which in time were to be followed in all three types of school. Each standard included twelve subjects; general knowledge, English, writing, arithmetic, geography, ethics, reading,

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Annual Report, 1890, p. 138.

recitation, history, vocal music, calisthenics and religion. The prescribed subjects in each standard were to be mastered before pupils were promoted to the next level. The importance of the students understanding the work instead of carrying it out mechanically was cogently impressed upon the teachers.⁷⁶

The educative process revealed the department's intention of burying all that was Indian, including traditional games, dances, and native crafts. The government approved as principals reported that the children were being taught "to forget their Indian games as well as habits and customs"⁷⁷ and inspectors commented how the children responded "with great interest and truly Anglo-Saxon vigor."⁷⁸

Increased demands for fluency in English were intended to spell the death of the Indian language. The native tongue was forbidden in all schools, "because if the ideas and sentiments of white people are to be acquired it must be done by such contact as required a thorough understanding of their language."⁷⁹ To enable a more rapid understanding of the English language, Macdonald approved of Father Lacombe's Blackfoot-English vocabulary in 1885 and Dewdney

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See Appendix III, p. 173

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Glenbow Foundation. Dunbow Industrial School. E. Claude to the Indian Commissioner, July 9, 1890.

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Annual Report, 1888, p. 146.

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 168.

recommended the printing of a Cree and English vocabulary⁸⁰ in 1886. Any literature printed in Indian dialects, however, was not permitted in the schools as the maximum amount of time was to be spent on learning English.

To supplement and cement the tasks of the industrial institutes the government introduced the outing system---an extension of the school's white environment. The programme was simply a plan for hiring out students who were still attending the industrial schools so they would be able to benefit from the atmosphere and ways of white homes. This was viewed as the best preparation for assimilation. "It seems difficult to imagine any other possible method by which the Indians can more thoroughly and readily be civilized," wrote the Deputy Superintendent in 1889.⁸¹ There were other advantages to the plan. The outing system was healthy for the students who became demoralized by the feeling of dependence in the school environment, and it simultaneously eased the financial burdens of the school. The wages earned by the pupils were either funded for them until they completed their schooling or the money was given to the parents. The programme was noted as a success on the government's part. Much credit can be given to Hayter Reed as his energies and organization prevented unfortunate

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P.A.C. Macdonald Papers, Vol. 291. Vankoughnet to Macdonald, July 6, 1886.

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 169.

incidents. He insisted that "the greatest care must be taken in the selection of suitable homes," the students must be justly compensated, employers must be aware of their responsibility towards the students and inspection must be frequent and thorough.

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Before the first group of students was discharged from the industrial schools, the department was weighing the possible alternatives for their future. Since the end result was to be assimilation into the white culture, the department debated whether the industrially educated should enter the white communities and find work there or return to the reservations to influence those who still remained wholly Indian. The latter choice threatened regression as once they returned to the reserve the tendency for "the few to merge into the many" was very strong. Other possibilities existed. The department could select homesteads for the graduates among the settlers or settle them individually, in colonies, upon part of the reserve land or land adjacent to it.

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In practice, as students were ready to leave the school, the Commissioner, Deputy Superintendent and school principals made determined efforts to find them jobs in

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1295, School Branch Letterbook. Reed to Assistant Indian Commissioner, July 2, 1895. See also Annual Report, 1889, p. 169.

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Annual Report, 1888, p. 131.

the trade they had mastered. Several were hired by the agencies, but in most cases, jobs were scarce. The occupations that they were preparing for had few openings. For example, in the case of shoemaking, factory made boots were cheaper and quicker to obtain than those the students made⁸⁴ by hand. Faced with this situation, department officials chose the easiest way out of the dilemma. Emphasis was placed upon more students becoming proficient in agricultural pursuits and the learning of trades was correspondingly deemphasized.⁸⁵

The shortage of suitable jobs, among other factors, made the return to the reserves inevitable. The department subsequently advocated the assisting of those settling in their former environment. Implements were given to the future farmers. Tools valued at twenty-six dollars were given out to each male student and girls received household utensils. Before the student arrived to settle permanently on the reserve, the department made sure he had a comfortable and furnished house "and not a mere shelter...⁸⁶ to take refuge in." Grouping the graduates was still advocated, but there is no indication of any programme that actually enacted this plan. The sentiments of the department were expressed by Hayter Reed:

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol.1118. School Branch Letter-book. Reed to Forget, January 10, 1896.

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Annual Report, 1898, p. 298.

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Annual Report, 1890, p. 143.

I should very much like to see them start out having a nice little house, built on a proper location on the reserve, when I shall give them a yoke of cattle, a plough and harrows, and other outfit, in order to start them properly in life....⁸⁷

While the government was devising and revising policies to ensure the success of the industrial schools, it gave its support to the introduction of a third type of school, the boarding institute situated on or near the reservations which was to mitigate the sense of separation that the industrial schools posed and at the same time solve the problems of the day school.

The boarding schools operated on the same principle as the industrial schools. A per capita allowance for a set number of pupils was granted to the religious body in charge with the Churches subsidizing the cost of maintenance and salaries where necessary. The objectives of the school were the same---the transformation of the Indian character---excepting the specialization in trade training. Because of the absence of specialized training the boarding school cost less to operate than the expensive industrial schools. By 1896 the government held high expectations for the

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1118, School Branch Letter-book. Reed to Forget, January 10, 1896.

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The average cost per student in each of the schools in Manitoba and the North West Territories came to the following: day - \$34.32; boarding - \$81.27; industrial - \$132.18.

boarding and industrial schools "as it is in their success
that the solution of the Indian problem lies."⁸⁹

The election of 1896 brought substantial changes in the Department of Indian Affairs. According to the Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, "the Department of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs have not been conducted in all cases in the past with the degree of efficiency that the people of Canada have a right to expect", particularly "in view of the large amount of money that has
been annually expended."⁹⁰

The first changes came in territorial administration. Whereas there had been two Inspectors of Agencies and Reserves for the North West Territories before, now the Territories were divided into three inspectorates whereby supervision was conducted by resident inspectors. This change enabled the department to abolish the Commissioner's office in Regina as there was no longer a need for "such an
expensive office of administration."⁹¹ Within the department the position of a separate Deputy of Indian Affairs was

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Annual Report, 1893, p. xxvii.

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Debates. May 4, 1897. Sifton, p. 1714.

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The three inspectorates and the respective inspectors were: Qu'Appelle under A. McGibbon; Battleford under W.J. Chisholm and Calgary under T.P. Wadsworth.

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Annual Report, 1897, p. 213.

discontinued so that the Deputy Minister of the Interior was also Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. The Indian Affairs Department was divided into three branches: Land's branch, Accountant's branch and the Secretary's branch to facilitate a more efficient operating structure and reduce, simultaneously, administrative expenses. The reallocation of duties and jobs and the accompanying selected cuts or raises in salaries had "not the slightest detriment to the efficiency of the service"⁹² while at the same time maximizing financial savings.

New faces staffed the influential positions and introduced different educational aims into the Indian school system. Sir Clifford Sifton became the Minister of Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. The Deputy Minister was James Allan Smart, formerly in Mr. Greenway's administration in Manitoba as Minister of Public Works and Provincial Secretary. Mr. John McLean, the newly appointed Secretary, was promoted from other clerical work which he had been doing since 1874 in the department. He was responsible "under the deputy head, for the conduct of all the Correspondence of the department."⁹³ Amédée Emmanuel Forget continued to serve as Indian Commissioner until 1898 when he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories. The Hon. David Laird, who had previously

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Annual Report, 1898, p. xxxi.

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Debates. May 4, 1897. Sifton, p. 1712.

worked in Indian Affairs in the capacity of Superintendent of the North West Superintendency between December 1876 and February 1879, replaced Forget.*

In the reviewing of Indian Affairs, educational policies and the structure of the school system were given foremost attention. The prime factor behind this new urgent tone was the rising cost of Indian education in the North West. In 1880 the amount rose to 250,710.00 dollars, reaching 306,953.55 dollars by 1897.⁹⁴ The greatest expenditures were absorbed by the industrial schools bringing to question the rationale for their perpetuation and expansion.

The industrial schools had been founded on two assumptions: by the process of education the red man could become the same as the white man; and, the superior advantages of the industrial schools would eradicate more thoroughly and quickly each generation's native concepts and produce a self-sufficient group capable of competing with the rest of society.

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Sifton's term in office was from 1896 to 1905.

Smart served as Deputy of the Interior from July 1, 1897 to November 20, 1902.

McLean was appointed to the new position of Secretary on July 1, 1897.

Forget acted as Indian Commissioner between October 26, 1895 to October 3, 1898, when he was replaced by the Hon. David Laird who served until January 12, 1914.

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Annual Report, 1897, p. xxvii.

The basic tenets of the function of the industrial schools were critically analyzed by the new officials of the department. Deputy Smart saw the intense and specialized programme as futile in elevating the Indian "race." If the schools continued to prepare artisans, they would have to restrict the numbers in training to the employment openings. This offered little for most of the group. On the other hand, if more were included in the trade training programme it would be very costly and wasteful. Most of the pupils would return to the reserves, their trade learning falling by the wayside, and regress to the level of the tribe which in most cases was still in a very undeveloped and uncivilized state. The plan was premature for other reasons. Smart perceived a danger in over educating pupils for an environment that they would have to be a part of:

To educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them.⁹⁵

James Allen Smart's quarrel with the industrial school was not so much as to whether it could succeed in its aims, but whether its function was appropriate at this stage of development of both white and native societies. On the contrary, Sifton's opposition to the industrial training programme centered upon the pupils. Were they ready to benefit

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Ibid., p. xxvii.

from the training imparted to them and equally able to exercise what they learned? He viewed the scheme of attempting to make "the Indian boy a mechanic capable of taking care of himself in competition with the white mechanic" somewhat untimely because the Indian child was not yet at the stage of "physical and intellectual development" that such an extensive and specialized education would enable him "to take his place in the ordinary ranks and engage in the ordinary competition of life."⁹⁶ His suspicions that the school was failing in preparing the pupils to undertake a job and compete with the white population was confirmed by school management's reluctance to release students at the age that Sifton considered they should be able to take care of themselves.

The programme was seen as a greater failure when the cost of the schools was considered. With this point of view, Sifton advocated a termination to the expansion of industrial schools and an increase in the number of boarding schools, "which would give not so great an amount of education, but a reasonable education, to a much larger number of Indian children" benefitting more the Indian population as a whole than did the present system.⁹⁷

A similar line was taken by John McLean, the new Secretary of the department, who felt that education in

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Debates. July 14, 1899. Sifton, p. 7485.

⁹⁷

Ibid., p. 7486.

schools was not the answer to producing self-supporting future Indians, "equal to white men." He saw the former government's plan as unrealistic: the Indian graduates would not be able to compete within society at large. He undermined the primary purpose of the industrial schools--the teaching of trades.

It is thought that no extra effort should be made to train the Indian pupils as carpenters, cabinet makers, shoemakers, tailors etc., as there is not much likelihood for many years to come of Indians so trained being capable of earning a livelihood at such trades in competition with white people. The chief aim should be to train the Indian pupils to earn a livelihood when they return to their reserves; and it seems altogether out of the question for the Department to undertake to educate a large number of Indians with the idea of making them equal to white-men by the process of education. The result of such a course is that the Indian pupils have still, to be provided for by the Department very often after they leave the schools, and thus a double responsibility is undertaken, namely, that of educating them and then of providing them the means of obtaining a livelihood; whereas, if the Indians were educated simply with the idea of obtaining their livelihood as Indians and assuming the status of whitemen as soon as they might have the means of doing so, they would be better prepared to go back to their reserves and set an example to other members of the band.⁹⁸

The process of living, and not specifically the school, was to be the greatest agent in teaching the Indian. The belief that the Indian would slowly evolve along the spectrum from savagery to civilization was still upheld although

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1121, Private Letterbook. McLean to Forget, March 8, 1898.

now a different path was being suggested for this course.

The most vehement opponent of the industrial schools was Frank Oliver, MP for Alberta. He professed to be voicing the popular consensus throughout the Territories. He saw the industrial schools not only as useless, but detrimental, setting the Indian children back. The school taught trades and ideas but not the ability "to exercise these ideas so as to be a self-supporting and self-respecting citizen."⁹⁹ The native's chances, his initiative, for becoming a pioneer, freighter, voyageur, hunter, herder of cattle or a farmer on a small scale were destroyed by the industrial system¹⁰⁰ and "nothing of equal value to him is put in its place." The school set him into operation as part of a machine, taking away the independence of spirit that is necessary for direction and self-sufficiency.

He wanted the programme discontinued as he saw no hope: "it is in the nature of things you should fail with the Indian; you have failed, and you could not do anything else." He furthered his argument for changes by stating that it was unjust to take the white man's money to educate the Indians to compete with the white man or to take society's¹⁰¹ money and fail to bring about favorable results.

⁹⁹
Debates. July 14, 1899. Oliver, Liberal, Alberta, p. 7493.

¹⁰⁰
Ibid., p. 7491.

¹⁰¹
Ibid., p. 7492.

The influential members of the Indian Affairs Department set a new tone toward Indian education. The zeal of some of the members of the previous administration was absent. There were no grand, eloquent, futuristic aims laid out, only a move to gradually develop a self-supporting native who in time would evolve to a state of readiness for assimilation.

With this frame of mind the department turned towards organizing a more systematic, efficient, less expensive school system. The prime objective was to establish an education that would have the best effect upon reserve life.

Changes in organization were suggested by McLean. In writing to the Indian Commissioner in 1898, McLean recommended that day, boarding and industrial schools already in existence be synchronized to work as a unit: the day schools admitting children up to eight years old; the boarding schools receiving them from the day schools for the years between eight and fourteen; and the industrial schools training them from the age of fourteen until no later than the age of eighteen. Although the day schools' alleged value was to prepare the pupils for future separation from their parents, set the introductory tone for higher schools and provide a place for unhealthy children, in actuality they were perpetuated mainly because many Indians still refused to send their children to residential schools. ¹⁰²

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Annual Report, 1897, p. 217.

A new programme of studies for each school level was to be devised, so that the material studied would not be repeated. Students should be enrolled in the school closest to their homes and all schools should be utilized to a maximum before any new buildings were constructed. The day schools were also to have a minimum of eight children on the attendance sheet before the school would be allowed to operate. This new plan would enable costs to diminish "as the pupils in the boarding and industrial schools would receive their preliminary training in the day schools, and thus would not be required to serve such a long term in the higher grade schools."

103

As can be noted in the above new measures, the department's wish was to reduce expenditures while at the same time bring about better results through reorganization. It became concerned with "wasted education". One aspect of this concern focused upon the number of unhealthy children who entered the institutes, spreading their maladies and causing many deaths. It was found that out of one thousand eight hundred and three pupils discharged from industrial schools by June 30, 1897, four hundred and eighty-nine had died by 1898. Although the ideas of screening unhealthy

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103

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1121, Private Letterbook. McLean to Forget, March 8, 1898.

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Ibid., Other statistics cited give similar results. Total enrollment in industrial schools in Manitoba and the North West up to December 31, 1898 was 2,280. Of the discharged students, numbering 2,121, 404 had died. See Debates. July 14, 1899. Sifton, p. 7485.

pupils had been planted earlier, more stringent regulations were introduced to enforce the admission policy. Children required a health certificate to enter the residential schools and more attention was to be given to proper medical care.

The only new schools that were established after 1896 were on the boarding, semi-industrial model. There was a tightening of expenses right across the board. As Churches repeated demands for assistance in maintaining their schools, the department reminded them that the government had never assumed "responsibility for meeting the entire cost of conducting" the schools and had no intention of changing its position.¹⁰⁵ In 1898 Sifton confirmed the department's stand on the question:

I need not say to you that I fully appreciate the desirability of giving educational privileges to every Indian child, but the amount of expenditure that this would involve at the present time would be out of all proportion to what Parliament has heretofore considered itself justified in undertaking.¹⁰⁶

As the missionaries felt thwarted in their efforts, they turned to their respective denominational heads, decrying the crippling financial situation. The industrial government schools which had previously depended heavily on

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Public Archives of Canada. Sifton Papers, Vol. 265, Sifton to Rev. J. Riou, Blood Reserve, December 27, 1900.

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P.A.C. Sifton Papers, MG 27, Vol. 224, Letterbook. Sifton to Rev. G.M. Grant, Kingston, January 14, 1898.

government aid suffered the most. Management was told to limit its operations to the extent of the school's resources; "no funds for this purpose" became the customary answer to requests for improvements or supplies. ¹⁰⁷

The government no longer deemed it its duty to pay the deficits of the schools. It was convinced Indian education had reached the "high-water mark" and thereafter proceeded to reduce, instead of increase, costs. ¹⁰⁸

In theory there existed an immense difference between the Conservative and Liberal governments' educational policies. The former's goal was an intense, specialized, yet composite programme for all the Indian children so that upon graduation they would emerge as "white people", enter every walk of life, becoming the forerunners of a totally transformed Indian population: a self-supporting citizenry taking its place in the Canadian way of life. Every opportunity was to be given to the Indian children to enable them to achieve their potential. The object was to change the Indian character by means of the industrial and boarding schools in preparation for assimilation. Nicolas Flood Davin revealed how sanguine were the anticipations of the previous administration's officials.

107

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Indian Industrial School. McLean to Naessens, December 23, 1898.

108

P.A.C. Sifton Papers, Vol. 264. Sifton to Rev. A. Sutherland, Methodist Church, Missions Dep't, Toromto, January 10, 1898.

It is much better to go on in duty, faith and hope with regard to our Indian wards, make them farmers capable of cultivating their reserves, make them horse-breeders, or if you like, guides and scouts.... But let us give a chance to any bright children amongst them of having their intellects educated and their moral natures softened and developed.¹⁰⁹

The Conservatives' mood had been one of positivism, reaching for long term results which were to be achieved in the shortest possible time.

On the other hand the Liberals focused upon the immediate results of the schools and defined their first objective as a self-supporting reserve community which, in time, would be ready to integrate with white society. They studied the results of the school and advocated a less specialized training programme which could afford to give greater numbers a general education. The boarding school was supported as such and was seen as the quasi-foundation of the eventual civilization of the Indians. The result was a lack of support for the expansion of industrial schools and a steady tightening of educational expenditures.*

Apart from the denunciation of industrial school expansion and the increased austerity, there was little change in the actual operations of the school system.

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Debates. July 14, 1899. Nicolas F. Davin, Assiniboia West, p. 7496.

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It would be more accurate to state that the depreciation of the industrial institutes rose largely from the department's determination to cut costs.

Although the Conservatives endeavored to assimilate the graduates and prevent their return to the reservation, their efforts accomplished little as job scarcity inter alia¹¹⁰ forced the students to return to their previous environment.

The schools offered no opportunity for the development of Indian talent even though the Conservatives had espoused this idea. There was a continuity in spite of the change in administrations. Teacher qualification and teacher salaries remained the same, inspection reports continued, the curricula was left intact, the outing system was supported , and; most significantly, the missionary remained in charge of the schools and the native was expected to accept the type of education offered.

The Conservatives portrayed lofty hopes yet a lack of commitment to the goal; the Liberals planned what they believed to be a more realistic approach. In each case, although much more so in the latter, the cost of education governed the programme. The missing links to success were not studied in depth and when they were recognized, too often no attempts were made to solve them. The active forces operating upon the school scene were not only the policies established in Ottawa but included dynamic circumstances in which the Indian adult, child, and missionary played a profound and controlling role.

110

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1115, Private Letterbook. Reed to Father Paquette, August 14, 1894.

CHAPTER III

THE MISSIONARY AND THE SCHOOL: CRUSADE FOR CONVERTS

From the signing of Treaty Number Seven to the turn of the century it was predominantly the Roman Catholic and Church of England missionaries who entered Southern Alberta to evangelize the Blackfoot. They established their missions upon each reservation, constructing churches, schools and hospitals in hopes of alleviating the poverty of the native, "uplifting" his immoral character and saving his misguided soul. The missionaries' involvement in the schools shaped and styled Indian education. Although they encountered numerous problems as managers of the day, boarding and industrial institutes, their unrelenting spirit prevented defeatism on their part. By 1900 there were six Church of England schools, four Roman Catholic schools and two industrial schools conducted under the auspices of the two denominations---the Anglicans operating the Calgary Industrial and the Roman Catholics operating St. Joseph's.

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The present study is concerned only with the day and boarding schools and the St. Joseph's Industrial at High River. A detailed study of the Calgary school is omitted because of its late opening in 1895, although a reference will be made to the discharged pupils from the school.

The Church of England operated four boarding and two day schools and the Roman Catholics operated three boarding and one day school. In 1900 the Blackfoot population was 2,804.

THE BLOOD RESERVATION

The Methodists were the first to attempt an education programme on the Blood Reserve although it was abandoned after numerous trials. The Reverend John MacLean arrived in 1879 to establish a mission: by 1881 he had put up a school building and twenty children were being taught reading, spelling, writing and arithmetic, and two pupils had begun to study geography.² In spite of this early start the Methodists saw few rewards. The schoolhouse proved too small and the teacher unsatisfactory. This, coupled with a dwindling attendance and a lack of communication with the Indians,³ resulted in total failure:

The school at the north camp is supposed to be under the special care of the Rev. Mr. McLean, [MacLean] of the Methodist Church. Mr. McLean has been laboring as a missionary here for the past seven years, but at present there is neither a church nor a school, which is to be regretted, as there are a number of children of school age growing up in ignorance.⁴

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Annual Report, 1881, p. 214.

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There appears to have been a lack of understanding between MacLean and the Indians, as one Blood said to him: "You have lived so long among us, and speak our language, and we thought that you understood our ways of thinking, but we see you are still a white man in your heart." See Rev. James Woodsworth, Thirty Years in the Canadian North-West (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild, & Stewart Limited, 1919), p. 72.

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Annual Report, 1887, p. 181.

As the difficulties remained unresolved, the Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan and Calgary, William Cyprian Pinkham, suggested, in 1889, that the Anglicans, who had begun work on the Blood Reserve in 1880, buy out the Methodist property. It appears that there had been little cooperation between the two denominations and "the bishop pointed out that greater good could be achieved without this friction and that the Indians would no longer be 'puzzled' by the presence of two competing Protestant rivalries."⁵

The Church of England's proselytizing on the Blood reserve began with the arrival of the Reverend Samuel Trivett in 1880. Anglican fears of spreading Romanism provided the impetus for mission work in Southern Alberta. Reports of Roman Catholic priests visiting the reserve, holding services and claiming numerous baptisms led the Anglican Bishop of Saskatchewan, John McLean, to urge London to provide funds to establish an Anglican mission.⁶ Trivett did not hesitate to leave his Stanley Mission in Saskatchewan as he took an equally serious view of the Papal threat:

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Ian Getty, "The Church Missionary Society Among the Blackfoot Indians of Southern Alberta 1880-1895." (Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1971), p. 34.

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Oblate Archives. File Book: Cardston. St. Mary's Residential School. "Quelques donnees sur la Mission des Gens du Sang d'apres le Codex Historicus de la Mission." Hereafter cited as the Cardston File Book. See also Getty, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

"I verily believe that the Romish Religion at these places is as bad or worse than the Idolatry of the Brahmins or superstition of Mahomed."⁷

To arrest the spread of any Romanist influence that might already exist, the Anglicans proceeded to establish schools. The first schoolhouse was constructed in 1882 and by 1884 William Pocklington, Acting Indian Agent on the Blood reserve, reported fifty-nine students enrolled, with an average attendance of thirty-two. All were learning the rudiments of knowledge and receiving instruction in the English language and religion.⁸ For the next three years the day school was run sporadically, with changes in teaching staff and inadequate facilities jeopardizing any chances of smooth functioning. Mr. McGibbon, Inspector of Indian Agencies and Reserves described the situation most unfavorably in 1887:

The building had not an inviting appearance about it. The school was not in session when I called, on four different occasions. Mr. Fosbrook the teacher informed me that he had as many as one hundred pupils occasionally, but they were only learning the "A.B.C." Soap, towels and wash basins are supplied especially by the Department so that the children should observe cleanliness in their habits by washing their faces previously to coming to school, ... These articles had never been put to use. I called Mr. Trivett's attention to the unsatisfactory state of the school and

⁷ CMS/A104; Trivett to Fenn, Stanley Mission, October 24, 1879. Cited by Getty, op. cit., p. 23.

⁸ Annual Report, 1884, p. 87.

buildings, being mission property,... It is clear that some more energy will have to be displayed in school matters at both camps before any progress can be reported.⁹

A year later Inspector J. Macrae similarly denounced the conditions and exonerated the Indian children:

The Indian children of this and the Piegan Reserve are free from that bashfulness that so commonly retards the education of native children. They are bright and apt to learn, and will I fancy do so, if additional schools are provided for their proper accommodation.¹⁰

The Roman Catholics, though active in other mission work, did not enter the educational field until they completed their one and one-half story building in February, 1889. School, dwelling and private chapel were combined. Father Legal was in charge of the mission and Mr. Johnson was the teacher. Pocklington described the latter as "very painstaking" with "a good deal of experience in Indian teaching," and commended Legal for his patience and knowledge of the
11
Blackfoot language.

In the following year, 1890, there were three day schools in operation. The Church of England had opened a new school, May 12, 1890 at Bull Horn's village, and continued to run the one at Red Crow's. The Roman Catholics had a day school at Running Wolf's village. The Methodist

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Annual Report, 1887, p. 182.

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Annual Report, 1888, p. 140.

¹¹
Annual Report, 1889, p. 84.

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school was closed.

In spite of reports that "the children are attentive and are getting on fairly well," their irregular attendance at all three schools hindered their progress.¹³ Pocklington gave a partial explanation in 1891:

I have spoken repeatedly to the parents urging them to send their children, they promise to do so but say the children run off. I have noticed on my monthly visits to the schools that some of the children are particularly bright and, for a time, industrious, getting on rapidly, then for some inexplicable reason, perhaps some imaginary cause of complaint, they are not seen at school for days and weeks, when they have forgotten all they had been taught.¹⁴

There were obvious discrepancies between the number of school age children in a vicinity and the number enrolled in the school and a further discrepancy between the number on the roll and those in attendance.¹⁵ Father Legal's school is typical. There were forty on the roll, the recorded average attendance was sixteen and yet there were at least "one hundred Roman Catholic pupils in the vicinity of the school."¹⁶

¹²
Annual Report, 1890, p. 60. The second Roman Catholic day school opened in the spring of 1893 at Heavy Shields's village. The third Anglican day school was completed during the 1892-93 term. See also Annual Report, 1893, p. 85.

¹³
Annual Report, 1890, p. 61.

¹⁴
Annual Report, 1891, p. 82.

¹⁵
See Appendix I, p. 169 for a comparison of the number enrolled and the number in attendance.

¹⁶
Annual Report, 1891, p. 107.

This chronic absenteeism prompted the missionaries to seek other methods of influencing the children and realizing the socio-religious goals of the Church. As a result, they gave unanimous support to boarding institutes as agencies for the teaching of the English language and white society's approach to life. This idea also received official support.

The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would be otherwise subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that tends to effect a change in his view and habits of life. By precept and example he is taught to endeavor to excel in what will be most useful to him.¹⁷

In 1892 the Church of England made its first experiment in this direction by establishing a Girl's Boarding Home with an initial enrollment of eleven pupils. In spite of serious difficulties,¹⁸ the authorities expanded the school building to include a boy's residence by the spring of 1894. The complex---St. Paul's Home for Boys and Girls--- was under the directorship of the Rev. Frank Swainson with Miss Wilson teaching the twenty-four girls and Mr. McAnally¹⁹ teaching the twenty-five boys.

¹⁷

Annual Report, 1889, p. xi.

¹⁸

Annual Report, 1892, p. 180. The girls had difficulty adjusting to the new situation, often displaying signs of homesickness. On one occasion, when the school adjourned for a three week holiday, only seven returned, "the remainder being away with their friends at the sundance."

¹⁹

Annual Report, 1894, p. 178.

This school was typical of the new boarding complexes emerging on all three reserves to replace the original "eighteen by twenty" lonely and uncomfortable day school-houses. St. Paul's Home, situated close to the reservation, included the mission house, church and school, boy's home, girl's home, stables, storehouse, laundry and hospital. The residences had forty-four inmates in 1900 although there was accommodation for fifty boys and thirty-five girls.²⁰

Pupils followed the syllabus outlined by the Indian Department which included reading, writing, arithmetic, vocal music, calisthenics, general knowledge and the study of English. There was much emphasis on moral and religious matters:

The teachers occupy half an hour daily in imparting religious instruction, the Ten Commandments and the life of Christ receiving special prominence. Divine service and Sunday school are held every Sunday, mostly in English.

The girls were employed in domestic duties and "spend the afternoon sewing and knitting under the supervision of the teacher."²¹ The boys worked outdoors, milking, feeding, gardening, "teaming" and also assisted in the kitchen and attended to the house work in their residence.

²⁰

Annual Report, 1900, p. 387. The inspector reported forty-four pupils registered whereas the principal cited fifty-one. These discrepancies in reported enrollment were common and were caused by the transience of the students.

²¹

Annual Report, 1897, p. 219.

Conduct was reported good, though as the principal stated, "they need constant watching and correction. We find it necessary to be strict in discipline. All wilfulness, irregularity and carelessness receive prompt admonition, and where advisable, punishment." The latter usually consisted of detention or confinement during playtime, as an effort was made to resort as little as possible to corporate punishment. Playtime or recreation meant football, baseball and croquet for the boys and supervised free time
22
for the girls.

In 1897 Principal Arthur de B. Owen of St. Paul's wrote optimistically about the prospects of the school: "The children are making progress steadily in all respects, particularly in their knowledge of the English language and general information." He added that the older boys were manifesting "a desire to proceed to the industrial school at Calgary and we hope before long to persuade their parents to accede to their wish." At the same time he expressed his disappointment over the fact that "there are still
23
hundreds running wild amid sin and dirt."

Meanwhile the Roman Catholics opened up their first boarding school, Immaculate Conception, on December 8, 1898, and simultaneously closed the two day schools they were operating. The mission books reveal that only five children

22
Ibid., p. 220.

23
Ibid., p. 219.

were in attendance the first year and, in addition, register numerous complaints of the failure of the Indian Agent
24
to cooperate in recruiting. Although the institute, still in its embryonic stages, cannot be properly evaluated by 1900, the eleven boys and five girls enrolled, although only beginners, read "fluently and understandingly from the primer lesson cards." and participated in calisthenics and
25
singing.

By 1900 the Blood Reserve school system included the Immaculate Conception Boarding School under Father J.F.Riou, St. Paul's Boarding Home under Principal A. de B. Owen and one day school at Bull Horn's village, acting as a feeder for the Church of England boarding school.

Viewing the schools of the Blood reserve, it becomes evident that the disinterest of the Indians was not the sole cause of the many failures. Any factor that affected the proper functioning of the schools had its repercussions.
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One outstanding drawback was the constant shifting of staff.

24

Oblate Archives. Cardston File Book, p. 21.
Reads: "All of the department worked against father. This open hostility joined with defiant Indians made the first years difficult."

25

Annual Report, 1900, p. 387.

*

Looking only at the early 1890s as an example, the changes in staff are many. The school at Bull Horn's was closed from March 31, 1891 to July 30, 1892 when J. Hinchliffe left for the Piegan Reserve and no replacement could be found. Red Crow's school lost Mr. Hillier who went to teach at Bull Shield's camp and received Mr. Robertson who after three months proved unsatisfactory. After Robertson's dismissal the school was closed for a quarter of a term. Mr. Herbert came on staff but within a year was replaced by Mr. Collins. See Appendix I, p.

Many came with humanitarian idealism but found the task overwhelming: "they [the children] need Oh! so much patience."²⁶ Whatever the motives for coming, once they encountered the poor living conditions, inadequate salaries and often defiant natives, their perseverance wavered and they moved on, willingly or upon dismissal for poor performance. Reviewing the situation, J. Wilson, the Indian Agent, concluded that "the more one sees of these Indian schools the more one becomes convinced of the absolute necessity of none but certificated teachers being appointed."²⁷

Internal problems of management, such as those within the Church of England mission, also proved disruptive and damaging. Trivett, missionary in charge from 1880 to 1891, was asked to leave by the Church Missionary Society for failure to meet the standards set forth. J. Hinchliffe, a new teacher, criticized his superior in a letter to the CMS in London in 1891:

1. Do you expect your missionaries to work amongst the Indians for a few hours on Sunday and leave them alone all the rest of the week?
2. Do you expect your missionaries to live amongst the Indians for 8 or 10 years, and then not be able to speak the most common sentences correctly in the Indian language?

26

Glenbow Foundation. Trivett Papers, Diary of Mrs. S. Trivett, January 25, 1891.

27

Annual Report, 1898, p. 129.

3. Do you expect your missionaries who have the superintendence of a school, to be so long as five months without entering that school during the school hours?
4. Do you expect your missionaries living amongst a people who esteem truth most highly, to break faith with that people so often as to be spoken of by them as "very great liars?"
5. Do you expect your missionaries to tell bareface lies to their teachers?
6. Do you expect your missionaries to sell clothing sent to them for distribution amongst the Indians?²⁸

Although the charges were not fully proven, there was agreement that Trivett could have visited the schools more often, handled CMS funds more prudently, spent more time evangelizing the Indians, learned the language better, and maintained better relations with the other employees.²⁹

Poor relations also existed between the two denominations. Each had its designated sphere of influence, yet both continually accused the other of buying the Indians with "money, tea, tobacco, clothing."³⁰ The rivalry for

²⁸
CMS/All6; J. Hinchliffe to Fenn, February 5, 1891, cited by Getty, op. cit., p. 67.

²⁹
There were several additional factors that had a bearing on Trivett's dismissal. He had never established good working relations with either Bishop McLean or Pinkham; he had incurred the disfavor of the surrounding community as he criticised it for abusing the native; and there was friction between him and other members of the staff. See Getty for more detail, pp. 67-68.

³⁰
Oblate Archives. R.P. Emile Legal Letterbook, Blood Reserve, 1888-1896. Legal to the Editor of the North-West Review, January 14, 1892. Hereafter cited as the Legal Letterbook.

school children exceeded all else. Father Legal, in a letter to Hayter Reed, portrayed the antagonisms of the competition:

There are plenty of children in the camps born of pagan parents. The representatives of the Church of England have a large field to exercise their zeal. But when they are trying every means to entice Catholic children out of their faith, I declare that I cannot see any real zeal in that course, ... it is really disheartening to be obliged to resist such abusive interference.³¹

In another letter he sought intervention from the department in order to send a student to the Catholic school at the parent's request, stating that "it is the violation³² of the most sacred right of humanity" if it was not allowed. The Roman Catholic missionaries were concerned about the encroachment of the Anglicans as they felt they had visited and befriended the Indians long before "other religious denominations would have dared even to camp amongst them,"³³ and now the others were reaping what they had sowed.

At the same time, the priests surmised that the Indian Department was deliberately letting them down, financially and morally. They were skeptical about the "want of funds" as the true reason for limited financial help, especially as the Church of England was expanding

³¹

Ibid., Legal to Reed, October 5, 1892.

³²

Ibid., Legal to Reed, August 29, 1893.

³³

Ibid., Legal to D.W. Davis, M.P., March 5, 1896.

rapidly on all three reservations.³⁴ An atmosphere which should have been harmonious deteriorated further as the department stopped the distribution of clothing and food rations for mid-day lunches.³⁵ No unity existed among those who were allegedly working for the native's interests.

THE BLACKFOOT (PROPER) RESERVATION

The school system on the Blackfoot reserve developed along similar lines to the one on the Blood reserve. Although the Roman Catholics, particularly in the person of Father Lacombe, had established a rapport with the Blackfoot tribe as early as the 1860s, the Church of England was the pioneer in the building and operation of mission schools. The CMS in London chose Reverend John William Tims to head the mission. Arriving at Blackfoot Crossing in July, 1883, he proceeded to the North Reserve or Upper Camp, as the Roman Catholics had already claimed the South Reserve as their mission area.

In the winter of 1883 the Blackfoot received their first day school when Tims completed his mission house. "The house was divided into three rooms - a large room taking up little more than half the building used as both kitchen and school room;" the other two rooms were used as

34

Ibid., Legal to Reed, December 16, 1895. In 1895 the Church of England had four boarding schools for the Blackfoot and the Roman Catholics had none.

35

Ibid., Legal to Reed, January 19, 1892.

a study and bedroom.³⁶ Tims reflected upon his first winter as missionary and teacher:

At first I had difficulty in inducing the children to attend school. Eventually they were enticed into the building by the offer of biscuits and tea. Then I began to teach them the alphabet, and as soon as I was able to translate I found one or two hymns a helpful relaxation between lessons. Having no seats, all sat on the floor. This continued through the first winter. Besides schoolwork and learning the language I was called upon daily to visit many sick cases and to dispense medicines.³⁷

In his correspondence he further describes his early teaching approach: "My first attempts at Christian teaching were the translation of little sentences such as 'God loves me,' 'God sees me,' etc., which I made the children repeat again and again."³⁸

Learning the language was only the first step. The Indians had to understand the meaning of English words and concepts for which they had no equivalent in their own language. Thus for "sin", "wrong-doing" would be substituted. Tims persisted in his endeavors, so that by 1889 he had compiled the "Dictionary and Grammar of the Blackfoot language,"³⁹ and translations of the Gospel of St. Matthew

36

Rev. John W. Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," Alberta Historical Review, (Spring, 1967), p.5.

37

Ibid., p. 5.

38

Glenbow Foundation. Archdeacon J.W.Tims Correspondence, 1883-1919, file 27.

39

Tims' translations were printed during his trip to England in 1889. He had suffered a nervous breakdown and the trip to England was to provide him with some rest. See Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," p. 3.

and other readings from the scriptures.

To provide assistance in the educational field, Rev. H.W.G. Stocken arrived from England in 1886. Stocken, like Tims, concentrated in his first few years on mastering the language and communicating with the children as much as possible. He related his equally trying experiences in the classroom. "My one big difficulty in class-work was the presence of babies on the backs of older sisters and when they cried the girls would walk up and down the school with them yelling and we carried on our work."⁴⁰

These tribulations did not deter the missionaries from expanding and increasing the number of schools. In 1885 Tims requested the opportunity to build four schools on the reserve in order to "shut the door effectively on the Roman Catholics."⁴¹ With Bishop McLean's enthusiastic support, the CMS committee granted him an unexpected and extraordinary amount of four hundred and fifty dollars toward building three schools and eight hundred dollars⁴² per annum for the salaries of four schoolteachers. Tims' plans to create an Anglican monopoly on the reservation and force the priests out nevertheless failed. Crowfoot backed the Black Robes and did not permit Tims to build in his

40

Glenbow Foundation. Personal Papers of Canon H.W.G. Stocken, (ms,n/d), p. 7.

41

CMS/All3; McLean to the Secretaries, Report of Visit to Blackfoot Crossing, October 13, 1884. Cited by Getty, "The CMS Among the Blackfoot." p. 28.

42

Glenbow. Tims Correspondence. Letter from Bishop's Court to Tims, January 28, 1885.

camp "on the grounds that the white man was slowly crowding
his people off the reserve."⁴³

Remaining on the North Reserve, Tims and Stocken constructed the second day school in 1888 at Big Plume's camp and a third in 1891 at Eagle Rib's village. The latter burned down in June, 1895 but was shortly replaced by a day school at Many Shot At's camp. The children, when they came, were taught the English language and the three R's in a solidly religious atmosphere:

Resolved: That all teachers on the Blackfoot and Blood Reserve be required: -

1. To open and close school with the following religious exercises from the Manual of Instruction, viz:
 - (a) Opening school in the morning: Two texts of scripture, the Morning Prayer and Lord's Prayer, all repeated slowly and distinctly by teachers and scholars.
 - (b) Closing school in the afternoon: A hymn two texts of scripture, evening prayer & Lord's Prayer, all repeated as in the morning.
2. To devote at least half an hour of each school day to religious teachings from the Manual.⁴⁴

Unhappy with the little progress being made in the day schools, the Anglicans were concomitantly working to establish a boarding school arrangement. In 1889 "Miss Brown had been installed in a small log building with half a dozen Indian girls." In the same year, Rev. W.R. Haynes

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Ian Getty, "The CMS Among the Blackfoot," p. 29.

⁴⁴

CMS/All6; Calgary Finance Committee, April 28, 1890. Cited by Getty, "The CMS Among the Blackfoot," p. 111.

and Rev. Frank Swainson, the two new missionaries on the reserve, had "gathered in the first six Indian boys and started the Boy's Home, using the upstairs of the Mission as a dormitory until the new building was erected."⁴⁵

In 1892 the first fully fledged boarding school---St. John's Home for Indian Boys and Girls---was completed at Old Sun's camp. Tims as principal and a staff of four looked after the ten girls and thirty boys enrolled. The Home consisted of three dormitories, staff quarters, kitchen,⁴⁶ dining hall, lavatories and day rooms.

Two years later, 1894, Tims secured a grant of fifteen hundred dollars from the Indian Department toward another boarding school. In spite of the outcry from the Roman Catholics, Tims built the White Eagle Boarding School on the South Reserve, about twelve miles distant from Old Sun's Boarding School.⁴⁷ In 1897 the missionaries separated the boys and girls, with the Old Sun's Residence housing the latter and White Eagle's accomodating the former.

45

Rev. John Tims, "Anglican Beginnings in Southern Alberta," pp. 10-11. Miss Kate Brown had been sent by the Toronto Diocesan Women's Auxiliary.

46

Annual Report, 1893, p. 86.

47

Oblate Archives. Blackfoot Reserve File. Doucet to Reed, September 21, 1893: "...Mr. Tims is likely to create some difficulties here, as he has done in the North Reserve. I apprehend that if he builds here, he will work against me and our schools, as he has worked several years against the Industrial School, High River, inducing the pupils out of the Industrial School when he got a chance to do it." For similar comments see Oblates. Crowfoot Indian Residential School, Lacombe to Begg, December 9, 1893.

At the boys' school there were no industries taught as such, although the boys did some farm and garden work and looked after the poultry. Tims wrote in the spring of 1895: "Beyond regular chores about the institution, there has been little chance for industrial employment this quarter, but some of the pupils have had a good bit of practice at making brooms and brushes out of birch sticks." ⁴⁸ Other activity included housework, cooking, scrubbing, laundry work, baking, mending and darning. The girls performed the regular domestic duties, sewing, knitting, cooking, and taking care of their washing.

The academic subjects of the syllabus set by the department were taught, as well as the merits of orderliness, cleanliness, punctuality and restraint. The emphasis again was on moral and religious training of the youth "both in the classroom and in daily life." ⁴⁹ The educators maintained a strict discipline. For example, when "No. 12 was forcibly taken away by her parents to attend a tobacco dance on May 11 and was absent two days," returning only upon the intervention of the agent, her punishment was a cancellation of ⁵⁰ "a month's holiday as granted to some of the children."

48

Glenbow. Blackfoot Indian Agency Papers. School Attendance Reports, 1895-1897.

49

Annual Report, 1898, p. 86.

50

Glenbow. Blackfoot Indian Agency Papers. Report on the Boarding School at Old Sun's, June 30, 1894. The dances proved disruptive in other ways. Stocken described how the boys in the school were "greatly disturbed by the nature of the Indian dances with the tom-toms beating incessantly." See Personal Papers of Stocken, p. 57.

Generally the children were reported as "all bright and happy" and their progress was "noticeable in educational knowledge."⁵¹ In 1897 Inspector Wadsworth found them "well taught and showing proficiency in the several branches of study according to their grading"⁵² and in 1900 he "found the children bright and intelligent," greatly improved in their use of the English language.⁵³

The schools were however far from being an unqualified success. There were only twenty-six boys enrolled at White Eagle's and twelve girls enrolled at Old Sun's in 1900, while "so many are allowed to grow up under the influence of camp life without any of the benefits of these institutions." The compulsory attendance rule passed by the government made very little difference; the controlling factor was the Indians' aversion to the schools: "unfortunately the Indians of treaty seven are for the most part strongly prejudiced against education."⁵⁴

The establishment of favorable relations between the missionaries and the natives did not inevitably ensure the Indians' compliance with missionary demands relating to the schools, yet, on the other hand, good relations created a healthy atmosphere making future missionary success more plausible. If the Indians clashed with individual

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Glenbow. Blackfoot Indian Agency Papers, File 1. December 31, 1894.

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Annual Report, 1897, p. 278.

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Annual Report, 1900, p. 343.

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Annual Report, 1898, p. 285.

missionaries because of the latter's disposition and approach, they became more alienated and distrusted the person in most situations. The outstanding incident that depicted how damaging poor relations could be, was one involving Tims. From the inception of the schools, there had been a high mortality rate among the students---tuberculosis, scrofula, consumption and brain fever were some of the most prevalent causes. In spite of the medical attention of a visiting physician and the hospital facilities provided after 1895, children passed away in great numbers.⁵⁵ Frequently children were released when they were sick, only to die at home. Tims was very reluctant to send the students home when they became ill, even upon insistent requests from the parents. The occasion for conflict was precisely a situation like this. A pupil had taken ill and the parents wished her returned home. Tims refused and shortly thereafter the child died. Mourning and anger abounded. Tims fled from the threatening Blackfoot after twelve years of missionary work among them and settled upon the Sarcee reserve in 1895.

Although Tims had always received full support from the Church Missionary Society and both Bishops McLean and Pinkham, he had been unable to establish a rapport with the

55

Throughout the Annual Reports there is a reference to the number of deaths among the pupils. See also: Glenbow. Mrs. George H. Gooderham, "Blackfoot History to 1946;" Personal Papers of Stocken, p. 77; and Blackfoot Indian Agency Papers, Report on the Boarding School at Old Sun's, for the quarter ended December 31, 1894.

Blackfoot.⁵⁶ His disposition has been described as "exceed-
ingly haughty and dictatorial. Thus having succeeded in
making himself much disliked by the Indians generally."⁵⁷

The Calgary Tribune quoted one minor chief as saying "there
was God and the Devil; God was good, and Mr. Tims was the
Devil."⁵⁸ Tims' rigid and inflexible methods in dealing
with the Indians brought on these consequences. As he did
what he considered his duty, he gradually alienated the
sensitive native.*

The history of the Roman Catholic educational endeavors on the Blackfoot reservation is somewhat different. They did not expand to the degree the Anglicans did, nor was there any apparent friction between the priests and the natives.

In August of 1887, Father Doucet, in charge of mission work on the reserve, opened the first schoolhouse in Crowfoot's camp, with Mr. Robbe acting as teacher. Initial optimism gradually diminished over a few years. By 1891 Inspector Betourany reported that only ten children were present at the school, yet "there are ninety children living

56

There appears to have been an animosity building up against Tims for some years. As early as 1892 the Blackfoot were petitioning the government to have him removed. See Magnus Begg's comments in Glenbow, Notes from the Agency Letterbooks, August 26, 1892.

57

The Daily, (Toronto) August 3, 1895.

58

Calgary Tribune, July 10, 1895.

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Tims' "strictness" permeated all his activity. He disapproved strongly of the Sun-dance and polygamy, doing everything possible to discontinue the practices; before he gave baptisms, he demanded a total rejection of paganism.

in the vicinity" of Crowfoot school that could attend.⁵⁹

The following year, only four of the forty-five pupils registered were ready for the examination and their performance was very poor.⁶⁰ Although Mr. Robbe was replaced by Mr. Race, as the former proved unsatisfactory, and more students were gradually secured, there were no reports recognizing pupil achievement.

On January 25, 1900 the first Roman Catholic boarding school was opened. Eleven pupils were admitted. The aim was to enroll a small number the first year and "train them well." Strict discipline was maintained, "not a single pupil has been out, without permission for half an hour."⁶¹

With the establishment of this school, the Blackfoot Reserve numbering 1,038 people had three boarding schools and two day schools by the beginning of the twentieth century. Forty-nine students were enrolled in the boarding schools and sixteen were attending industrial schools, totalling sixty-four making use of the all-around education programme.⁶²

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Annual Report, 1891, p. 107.

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Annual Report, 1892, p. 198.

⁶¹
Annual Report, 1900, p. 343.

⁶²
The Hanks quote that in 1900 "less than 40% of the 129 children of school age attended school". See Lucien M. Hanks Jr., and Jane Richardson Hanks, op. cit., p. 27.

THE PIEGAN RESERVATION

Mission schools on the Piegan reserve were established later than on the other two reserves and school expansion proved less extensive. In spite of Anglican George McKay's reference to an early schoolhouse in 1883, there is no indication of any success in school matters.⁶³ As late as 1886 Inspector McGibbon reported that "there is no church on this reserve of any kind, nor has there been any school until this fall."⁶⁴

This first institute was the Roman Catholic day school which was part of "a very substantial and comfortable mission."⁶⁵ Opening in late 1886 it recorded, by 1887, fifty-nine children and an average attendance of twenty-nine. Father Legal was in charge of the mission, assisted by Brother Bonehaime and Monsieur Hèbert, teacher. Initially the school earned a very good reputation. Pocklington wrote:

On one occasion in the winter I visited the school when one of the worst storms I ever experienced was raging, and found twenty-five scholars present, paying marked attention to their teacher. After holding a short examination during which the children answered the questions put to them, they sang a verse of the National Anthem.⁶⁶

63

P.A.C. Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. "E" Missionary Reports. McKay to CMS, August 27, 1883.

64

Annual Report, 1886, p. 151.

65

Annual Report, 1887, p. 99.

66

Ibid., p. 100.

Inspector McGibbon confirmed the agent's remarks in his report: "The pupils present were put through a number of exercises, and the result certainly showed that good work is being carried on in this school."⁶⁷

The picture changed over the next few years. Reports were submitted of "poorly clothed" pupils and insufficient school supplies.⁶⁸ Father Legal left for the Blood reserve in 1889 and Father Foisy replaced him, also taking upon himself the duties of schoolteaching. The attendance numbers decreased steadily. By 1891 there were thirty pupils enrolled though only ten were present on the average.

The Church of England school, commencing on November 3, 1887 under the directorship of H.T. Bourne, experienced identical problems. The instructors' endeavors to teach the children English, prayers and basic knowledge taught in white primary schools, were thwarted by an inadequate building poorly furnished, a scattered Indian settlement and a general negative response from the Piegans. "The Indian parents do not care to send the children to school, and the children do not care to attend."⁶⁹ By 1892 both day schools were in an unhealthy position. Pocklington reported sympathetically: "There are two schools in operation, irregular attendance making the teachers' work arduous and

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Ibid., p. 184.

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Annual Report, 1889, p. 128.

⁶⁹

Annual Report, 1891, p. 107.

disheartening. The teachers at these schools are painstaking and earnest, and are thoroughly conversant with the language."⁷⁰

The remainder of the history of the two day schools is very similar, so that by 1894 the Church of England school closed and two years later, 1896, the Roman Catholics converted their day school into a boarding institute.

The Church of England boarding school, St. Peter's Home, was completed in 1890 and was conducted by Bourne who was replaced by J. Hinchliffe in 1893. The school authorities had secured thirty-two children and in spite of the cramped classroom quarters and the high illness rate Inspector McGibbon's remarks were favorable, stating that "the pupils were clean and well clothed, and the discipline was good."⁷¹ Yet this positivism slowly ebbed as by 1897, of the thirty-five registered pupils, "only fourteen of them had made any progress beyond the simplest rudiments."⁷² Hinchliffe offered his explanation:

Writing and arithmetic are fairly well done, but reading and English are not what they might have been. One great drawback in this respect is that the school is situated where Indians can reach it too easily. Our children are in no way isolated from their people, and though almost all our children understand a fair amount of English, they are ashamed to speak much.⁷³

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Annual Report, 1895, p. 95.

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Annual Report, 1894, p. 178.

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Annual Report, 1897, p. 280.

⁷³

Ibid., p. 282.

The Anglicans, determined to bring their religion and the white man's values to the heathen children, constructed another building near Pincher Creek and close to the Piegan reserve in 1898 with the assistance of a government grant of eleven hundred dollars. The new Victoria Indian Home was to provide better facilities and removed the students from the direct influence of the reservation.

The Roman Catholic's first boarding school, St. Paul's, opened on June 1, 1896 with Father Foisy principal. Because of limited space, the government granted, in 1898, the sum of thirty-six hundred dollars for the building of the Sacred Heart Boarding School. The school was run by the Sisters of Charity and by 1900 it had an enrollment of twenty-seven pupils between the ages of six and thirteen. Their level of learning was evaluated in the inspection report of 1900:

The higher class read fluently and understandingly (6 girls) from the second book, spelling the longest words. They did sums up to long division; they write very well, and their composition is good. Standard I did equally well according to their grading. All the copybooks were neat and clean, and showed progress. Their drawingbooks evinced talent as well as good taste.⁷⁴

Thus at the beginning of the twentieth century, fifty-one students were receiving the educational benefits of the boarding schools on the Piegan reservation. The mission-

74

Annual Report, 1900, p. 389.

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The population of the reserve was 519 in 1900.

aries' hopes were that these pupils, upon graduation, would influence the rest of the Piegans and become the leaders of a transforming Indian population.

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

As the educators in the day and boarding schools struggled to achieve their objectives, the school authorities at the industrial school at High River were pursuing their aims with equal determination. St. Joseph's, conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, was located in a valley near the confluence of the Bow and High Rivers twenty-five miles southeast of the town of Calgary.^{*} Opened in October, 1884, with Father Lacombe as principal, the school's three-fold purpose was to educate the Blackfoot children in the ordinary branches of knowledge, instruct them in industrial pursuits and elevate them socially and morally according to Christian standards. The school site was a considerable distance from the three reserves principally "to wean the children from the associations of camp life ... and make them accustomed to the ways and habits of white people."⁷⁵

Recruiting and retaining the children of the Blackfoot tribes were two of the gravest problems confronting the

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There were three principals at St. Joseph's during the period under study. E. Claude replaced Father Lacombe as principal on March 21, 1887 and A. Naessens was hired to take Claude's position in October 1890.

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1088, Private Letterbook. Vankoughnet to Macdonald, March 28, 1885.

school, particularly in its first stages of operation. From the commencement of the institute in the fall of 1884 to the spring of 1885, there had been an average of fifteen to twenty-three pupils in attendance, but as soon as the fair weather came, only a few young children, all orphans, remained. Father Lacombe described the situation to the Indian Commissioner:

...then they began to get more uneasy and uncontrollable and finally left the Institution, some by their own will, others taken and forced away by their parents or guardians. We did our best to prevent these departures, but of no use. The usual excuse to go was and is always the same: "We are too lonesome." During the few months that our pupils remained at the school, we tried our very best, (I bought with my own money more than \$100 worth of candies and toys etc. to make them pleased and fond of the place.)⁷⁶

The failure to secure and maintain pupils at the institution was ascribed to the age of admitted students; the absence of attendance regulation; the lack of discipline within the school; the demoralizing effects of visiting Indians; the lack of supplies and facilities for the teaching of academics and trades; and the gravest obstacle to overcome---the uncooperativeness of the parents.

When St. Joseph's first opened, the impossibility of obtaining young children had led to the admittance of boys between the ages of fifteen and eighteen with a few exceptions. The absence of government regulations in regard to

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Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3675, St. Joseph's Industrial School. Lacombe to the Indian Commissioner, June 12, 1885.

attendance, invoked a leniency by the school administrators which resulted in an undesirable situation. The older boys came because fun was anticipated, plus "plenty to eat and nothing to do."⁷⁷ Parents raised no objection to the older boys attendance as often the adults had already lost influence over them. Frequently they were unaware of the boys' action. While at the school, the bigger boys, proud and independent, were hard to handle, defying all authority. At the start, neither force nor coercion of any kind was exercised for fear that the pupils might leave in retaliation, convincing others of the same and so destroying the missionary's chances of obtaining additional numbers from their respective bands. The result was disorder as an irresponsible freedom developed. Within six months this unworkable state of affairs provoked Father Lacombe to advocate more stringent means of enforcing discipline.⁷⁸ Although he resigned before he had an opportunity to exercise his new approach, the Assistant Principal, E. Claude wrote, in 1887, of the change at St. Joseph's: "The system of discipline is a military one and strictly carried out, no breach of the regulations remaining unpunished...all, with few exceptions, observe perfectly the daily routine."⁷⁹

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Glenbow. Dunbow Indian School Correspondence Letter-book, 1884-1888. Lacombe to Indian Commissioner, March 24, 1885.

⁷⁸

Oblate Archives. Lettre du Père Lacombe. Lacombe to Indian Commissioner, March 24, 1885.

⁷⁹

Annual Report, 1887, p. 128.

The school educators also felt that if any progress was to be made the first step was securing the presence of the children---"our pupils must be ours!"⁸⁰ They were crying for some control over the matter:

This is a deplorable state of affairs, the boy if left here one year longer would certainly have been able to take a situation on a farm, he was a good worker, a good boy in school, and certainly gave a good example to the younger Blackfeet boys and was well liked by everyone. It is discouraging to think that those Indians can bring a boy or girl to the school and have them received here, then at their pleasure come...and take the children away. They are not held accountable by anyone for their actions.⁸¹

The adults were unwilling to part with the offspring and it was impossible "to make them understand that the object of this school is for their welfare."⁸² When the mothers did bring their children, they would inevitably return before too long, claiming the offspring to soothe the loneliness. Many times those who brought children wanted to be reimbursed in some way. When rewards were not given, they immediately took back the children out of revenge.⁸³ In addition, the attitude of certain chiefs was very detrimental to the school's cause. The School Record Book of 1889 has recorded in it: "Heard from Ninn a-okos that both Crowfoot

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Glenbow. Dunbow Letterbook, 1888-1891. Naessens to Indian Commissioner, March 20, 1889.

81

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's School Record Book, April 25, 1889. Hereafter cited as St. Joseph's Records.

82

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3675, St. Joseph's Industrial School. Lacombe to the Commissioner, June 12, 1885.

83

Oblate Archives. Lettres du Père Lacombe. Lacombe to Commissioner, July 9, 1885.

and Old Sun advise the Indians not to send their children
84
here."

This recalcitrance on the part of the Blackfoot tribes gradually diminished, so that by the mid 1890s Blackfoot children filled the school to its full capacity. But the change of mood was not permanent; the favorable response began to disappear by 1897. The Blackfoot reaction, if plotted on a graph, would resemble an approximate normal
85
curve with 1895 the most successful year for enrollment.

In 1886 there was only one Blackfoot child in atten-
86
dance. Two years later the thaw was beginning as Chief North Axe of the Piegans gave his moral support to the school and the Piegans subsequently began to lose their
87
prejudice. In the following year, 1889, seventeen of the thirty-four boys and four of the fifteen girls enrolled were Blackfoot, and during the 1890-91 school term, twenty-four Blackfoot and Blood pupils were admitted. The change in the Indian's disposition was remarkable. "They seem to be more contented to be separated from their children",
88
wrote Naessens in 1892. By 1894 the school had to turn away applicants as its living quarters were filled. With an

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Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records, January 28, 1889.

85

See Appendix II, p. 172

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Annual Report, 1886, p. 94.

87

Annual Report, 1888, p. 99.

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Annual Report, 1892, p.

expansion of accommodations, the school registered one hundred and twenty pupils in 1895, the maximum number authorized by the department. Whereas in its early days, the school enrolled mostly Cree and white or half-breed children, by 1896 the attendance was "mainly composed of Blackfeet, Bloods and Piegans."⁸⁹ There was still some difficulty in "securing girls from Treaty No. 7," although school authorities were optimistic that this problem would also be⁹⁰ solved with time.

Without explanation, the tide turned. In 1897 the principal was noting the changing attitude: "For some reason or other the old time opposition of the Indians of Treaty No. 7 towards sending their children to this school,⁹¹ seems to be re-awakened." As more pupils were discharged than admitted in the remaining years, school authorities were becoming increasingly perturbed: "Recruiting for these schools is becoming a serious matter and deserving of deep⁹² consideration." The average attendance was rapidly de-⁹³clining: in 1900 the enrollment was down to eighty-four.

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Annual Report, 1896, p. 359.

⁹⁰

Ibid., p. 358.

⁹¹

Ibid., p. 360.

⁹²

Annual Report, 1899, p. 363. There was reason for concern. In 1898 seventeen pupils were discharged and eight admitted; in 1899 there fourteen pupils discharged and only six admitted.

⁹³

Annual Report, 1900, p. 384.

Indian suspicion of the school resulted in frequent visits at the institute. On these occasions the children visited or stayed with their relatives and friends, camped a short distance away, becoming very restless and discontented after each departure. The Indians were a disruptive force in other ways, as one schoolteacher complained:

It is difficult to know how to deal with Indians here especially when during school hours, they march into the classroom in their uncereemonious manner, with their guns they sit down, to talk, smoke and spit, and are a great source of distraction to the pupils; if they are told to go out they may go or they may not.⁹⁴

This problematic situation was gradually eliminated. The frequency of the visits decreased and so did their impact as the Indian Affairs Department passed stricter regulations in regard to the visits, the novelty of the school wore off, the Indians became more disposed to accept the separation from their children and the children felt more comfortable in the school.⁹⁵

Other difficulties confronting the school stemmed from the educators' dependence upon the government, straining the entire workability of the institute. The first years of the school's operation were the most intolerable and frustrating. School materials were very slow in coming;

94

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records, March 30, 1889. See also: October 12, 1888; November 3, 1888.

95

The frequency of the visits correlated with the Indians unfavorable attitude toward the school. See St. Joseph's Records for the years 1888 to 1898.

many requests were not properly fulfilled.⁹⁶ Equipment for farm work was inadequate: "We have no ploughs, hoes, no agricultural implements except harrows." Father Lacombe wrote with urgency to the Indian Commissioner in the spring of 1885: "All the trouble I had this winter and have at present is because the children have nothing to do and too much time for play."⁹⁷

The problems appeared endless. When a carpenter finally came, there was no timber, so unprofitable busywork took place. If seed was delivered it proved to be of poor quality, dampening any erstwhile inspiration. The constant shifting of trade instructors,⁹⁸ the poor calibre of teachers,⁹⁹ the department's refusals for various requisitions and the cramped quarters of the institution all hindered smooth and successful functioning. Although in time many of these problems were alleviated, it was within this framework of changing conditions and circumstances that the missionaries and teachers pursued the three-fold goals of the school.

School educators followed the academic curriculum set

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Glenbow. Dunbow School Letterbook. Lacombe to Van-koughnet, March 27, 1885.

⁹⁷

Ibid., Lacombe to the Indian Commissioner, March 9, 1885.

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Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. March 6, 1887; Annual Report, 1889, p. 129; Annual Report, 1893, p. 114.

⁹⁹

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. VI, School Branch Letterbook. Reed to the Indian Commissioner, March 19, 1896. See also Annual Report, 1895, p. 176.

by the Indian Affairs Department, particularly after 1892¹⁰⁰ when the programme was standardized. Students, excepting those learning a trade, spend five hours daily at regular academic work and those in trades, two and one-half hours. From April to September, school was only half a day for all the children who were able to do general work outside. In addition, special classes were given whenever time permitted. Major examinations were held twice a year, apart from minor exams that the teachers gave throughout the term. To enrich the prescribed slate of subjects, weekly newspapers were used as supplementary reading and as material for controversial discussions. The emphasis was upon teaching the students to speak fluent English so "only after supper are¹⁰¹ the pupils permitted to converse in their own tongue." Other activities included reciting poetry, calisthenics, singing and playing in St. Joseph's brass band.

The missionaries gave top priority to ethical training and religious instruction. As ethics stemmed from the religious principles, religion permeated the entire curriculum. Lectures were given on topics such as "Christian politeness." Among the regular texts there was "A splendid¹⁰² collection of books entitled, 'The Duties of a Christian,'"

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See Appendix III, p. 173

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Annual Report, 1898, p. 297.

¹⁰²

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. April 29, 1889.

and throughout the readers there appeared a continuous
reference to the missionaries' system of beliefs.

103

Direct religious teaching was extensive. The children were instructed in the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. They assisted at Mass at six o'clock every morning and attended service twice on Sunday. Religious instruction was given every day, catechism on Sunday afternoon and other religious exercises at various unscheduled times. Also, "prayers are said in the dormitories on arising and before retiring, by their bedsides."

104

The third purpose of the school---the teaching of trades---was to turn out competent and self-reliant boys as carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bakers, printers, engineers and farmers. As early as 1889 the boys learning carpentry were putting to use their new skills, building furniture, screens, boot cases, linen cases and so forth. While the carpenters excelled in their work, the shoemakers were repairing boots, making shoepacks, slippers and moccasins. The farmers were ploughing, harrowing, hoeing and cleaning the root crops and repairing fences.

The 1890 Annual Report cited six farmers, six carpenters and six shoemakers out of the thirty-six boys in attendance. The other boys who were not employed at trades, worked on the farm during fatigue duty, doing what their

103

Father Lacombe, First Reader in the English and Blackfoot Languages with Pictures and Words (Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Son, 1886), pp. 37, 63 etc.

104

Annual Report, 1898, p. 298.

strength permitted. School Record Books describe the typical activity of an afternoon:

During fatigue the boys were employed in weeding the corn and turnips. The carpenters were employed in finishing a trunk. The farmers were employed in branding calves and in opening out their stacks of hay to dry and in turning manure.¹⁰⁵

Baking and blacksmithing were introduced, although not to any great extent as only one apprentice to the baker and two assistants to the temporarily hired blacksmith were needed. Eventually only carpentry and farm work were taught. The shoemaker's shop closed in September, 1897 when the Blackfoot boy in charge received his leave and the other apprentices were too young to take over the management of the shop, while the one apprentice in the bakery was removed "as he did not care for his work." No other boys appeared who were interested in the trade.¹⁰⁶ Blacksmithing was discontinued as little work was available in the shop.

On the other hand, carpentry, farming and stock raising continued to thrive. Acres under cultivation increased from thirty-four and one-half in 1888 to one hundred and fourteen in 1898. Stock raising expanded rapidly, as most of the boys invested their earnings in calves and thus took a greater interest in it.¹⁰⁷ In 1890 there were three horses

¹⁰⁵
Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. August, 15, 1888.

¹⁰⁶
Annual Report, 1898, p. 295.

¹⁰⁷
Annual Report, 1897, p. 259. Missionaries encouraged the investing of money in livestock, rather than have students spend it on clothes or gifts.

and twenty-four head of cattle and in 1899 there were twenty-five horses at the school and one hundred and eight head of cattle, plus fifty-eight others belonging to the
108
boys.

The girls under the direction of the Reverend Sisters learned sewing, knitting, darning and the repairing of clothes. They made their own clothing as well as drawers, socks and shirts for the boys. Household duties, cooking, baking (except bread), laundry and dairywork were performed daily.

Apart from working at St. Joseph's, the students took part in the outing-system that the school sponsored. In 1892 only six students had been placed out at service; in 1897 the number increased to forty-six, working for periods ranging from three days to nine months. The students were employed as police interpreters, assistants to agents, carpenters, workers in mills and lumber yards, farming hands or housekeepers.

As they became proficient in their occupational work, most favorable comments circulated about them. Employers wished to hire them permanently; or, in many cases the same employers came back the following year asking for assistants again. The Golden Lumber Company that had employed boys from St. Joseph's had this to say:

108

Annual Report, 1899, p. 362.

The boys are steady and willing workers and seem anxious to make advancement. We could give employment in our mill and millyard to quite a number of the boys if they turn out as satisfactory as those now in our employ.¹⁰⁹

The educational programme of the industrial school was a qualified success. It did not accomplish all the theoretical aims set forth by the department or the missionary, yet the experiment revealed the children's ability to adapt to the school system and it proved their potential to learn.

The teaching process had had its trying moments; there was no instant success. One of the greatest obstacles had been the language barrier and until it was overcome, classroom achievement was impossible. "If these big boys could only be induced to speak English they would do well," wrote
110

one teacher. The communication barrier was evident in their written expressions. The Indian child had difficulty in expressing himself and in mastering the material that was to produce a scholarly aptitude: "They are very backward in writing, dictation and also in writing down their
111
own ideas." Understanding conceptual knowledge was by far the most difficult as the cultural as well as the linguistic difference had to be overcome first. The terms of reference used by the teachers were often alien to the children and many times the manner of presentation jeopardized develop-

109

Annual Report, 1897, p. 260.

110

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. January 22, 1889.

111

Ibid., February 3, 1888.

ment: "the Rev. Principal was very severe in giving notes."¹¹²

The degree to which the students grasped the English language was reflected in their progress. The fluency correlated with the age of the pupil upon entry and the length of time spent at St. Joseph's. On the average, two years in the institution meant fair understanding and speaking; one year at the school resulted in fair comprehension but very little speech.¹¹³

Teachers recorded their disheartening comments in the early stages of teaching. "I am sorry to say that they made a very poor showing this afternoon---it was very disappointing after all my trouble, to see them do so badly."¹¹⁴

Similarly, "Making all boys but four begin their arithmetic again. Not well founded in addition.... The 3rd division did very poorly, so poorly in fact that I had to punish them all."¹¹⁵

These difficulties proved not insurmountable; optimism replaced the early pessimism. "Blackfoot boys are improving in arithmetic and spelling, and are very good writers."¹¹⁶ By 1900 Betournay's inspection report was most reassuring: "Their course of instruction has developed their intelli-

¹¹²

Ibid., February 3, 1888.

¹¹³

Annual Report, 1889, p. 90.

¹¹⁴

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. March 5, 1888.

¹¹⁵

Ibid., April 9, 1888; March 8, 1888.

¹¹⁶

Ibid., March 30, 1889.

gence so much that they fully comprehend conversation on general topics." He furthered stated:

I found English universally spoken, and if I addressed a pupil on any subject, I would always receive an intelligent answer. Their spelling was very good indeed, also the mental arithmetic. They write very well; some of the older girls were as ready and apt in answering as white girls would be.¹¹⁷

At the Regina Exhibition, in 1897, the children from the industrial schools did very well receiving prizes in school work "as against all the white schools in the Territories, showing that the training given in these schools is quite
¹¹⁸
what it should be."

The academic progress was marked. In 1887 the twenty-six pupils enrolled were learning to read, spell and write and fourteen of them were learning arithmetic. By 1899 the ninety-one pupils in attendance were classified as follows: Standard One: twenty-four; Standard Two: twenty-five; Standard Three: seventeen; Standard Four: nineteen; Standard
¹¹⁹
Five: six; and Standard Six: none.

In their determination to make substantial progress with the students, the missionaries practiced strict disciplinary measures, found especially necessary for the older boys. The boys were not familiar with such rules as the school demanded: "Our new boys from the Blood reserve are

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Annual Report, 1900, p. 395.

¹¹⁸

Annual Report, 1897, p. 48.

¹¹⁹

Annual Report, 1899, p. 361.

very wild yet, the discipline of the institution seems to
120
amuse them." As a result, punishments were consistently
given out, whether in recreation, the classroom or at trades.
"Baptiste sentenced to loss of breakfast for disorder in
Dormitory last night after light was lowered;... Two boys
off school to bake. Idled. So punished." Some punishments
were more severe than others: "John Ledoux whipped for
121
lying."

The missionary was well aware of the deteriorating
effects of the punishments on some of the students. "Solomon
does not take punishment well. He is very proud and seems
to think that he ought not to be punished at all. Joe the
122
same." Discipline had its repercussions and did not al-
ways serve the interests of both student and school. John
Cotton, a pupil who entered at the age of fifteen, was des-
cribed as a "capital student" in the first few months but
after receiving the first of a series of punishments, within
a year was depicted as "unmanageable" and the educators'
expectations of him dropped. He left the institution after
one year and about three months, by which time he had
reached the Standard III level. Learning agriculture, he
was noted as "a very handy boy and a good worker." Upon his
discharge he "returned to the Indian style of life," working

120

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. March 28, 1889.

121

Ibid., February 20, 1888; February 8, 1888; January
30, 1888.

122

Ibid., February 8, 1888.

"frequently for ranchers and farmers during spring, haying
and harvest."¹²³

Viewing the missionaries' approach from their own value system, their ceaseless efforts must be recognized. The Black Robes endeavored to make schooldays as attractive as possible. Prizes were offered by both government and missionaries which created "great emulation among the students" and inspired them to compete.¹²⁴ Recreation time amounted to about three hours a day. The boys had hockey and football teams which were very successful, winning tournaments in the district. The children took pride in their neat appearance, especially the girls with their colorful clothing and bright ribbons. Most pupils, and all the young children, succumbed to the routine and discipline of the school. Once they adjusted, there is no indication that the majority were unhappy; in most cases the children who left the school before their education was "completed" did so reluctantly and in simple compliance with parental wishes.¹²⁵

The school's all-around education programme had aimed at permanent indoctrination with white society's values and a rejection, by the pupils, of Indian ways as they were

¹²³

Ibid., April 24, 1888; Annual Report, 1892, p. 217.

¹²⁴

Annual Report, 1899, p. 361.

¹²⁵

Most students were discharged on parental demand. See, for example, St. Joseph's Records; and Annual Report 1892, p. 217.

practised at the time. By studying the available data on the discharged pupils, these expectations of government and missionary were not met.

Excluding the exceptions, a statement made by an Indian Agent sums up the course the students took upon their departure from the boarding and industrial schools: "In most cases they are married and living on the Reserves here and very few of them can be credited with any great amount of praise for progress made." ¹²⁶ The reports on discharged students, although limited and often incomplete, indicate to what extent the school effected an influence upon the pupils after they left.

An Indian Agent's evaluation of the graduates from the Calgary Industrial School, read:

In reply to yours re-discharged pupils from the Calgary Industrial School - 5 are dead, 8 are as a rule working and doing fairly well but the remainder of those mentioned on your list are not of much account. All these boys had cattle issued to them a year or more ago but they have not exhibited that interest in their stock which one would expect from the training received.

1 - undergoing a sentence in prison for horse-stealing; 4 - were on charge of gambling.¹²⁷

From similar comments, "not of much account" appears to mean that the students returned to the "Indian style" of life on the reserve and the boys worked sporadically, thus

126

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 3966, Status of Discharged Pupils. Indian Agent to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, July 24, 1909.

127

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1419, Piegan Agency School, 1897-1924. Indian Agent to Commissioner, December 20, 1907. The total number of students reported on was twenty-four.

incurring a criticism from both government and school authorities.

A report on the status of discharged students from St. Joseph's up to the 30th of June, 1892, showed the students were discharged at different ages, ranging from eight to eighteen years and with academic standings extending from Standard II to Standard V. Of the ten, five were reported working very well and one was cited as dressing "in civilized clothes." The outstanding graduate was Josephine Callihoo who had attended the school for five and one-half years, upon graduation worked as a servant for an Indian Agent for a short time and then was appointed schoolteacher of an Indian day school at Bear's Hill, "which position she still fills, and satisfactorily." ¹²⁸ The other five had "returned to Indian life" and worked periodically.

A study of all the ex-graduates on the Piegan reserve who "graduated" from either an industrial or boarding institute between the years 1897 and 1910, revealed that thirty-five were "making use of their training" as compared to only six that were not. Twenty-one of the total sixty-¹²⁹ two pupils had died and three were seriously ill.

¹²⁸

Annual Report, 1892, p. 218.

¹²⁹

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1419, Piegan Agency Schools. Report on Ex-pupil Graduates, Piegan Reservation, Brocket.

There is a consistent theme throughout the available material on discharged pupils: a high mortality rate and a return by almost all ex-pupils to their respective reservations. On the reserve they fell into the basic pattern of reservation living. They eventually married, shared the work load of farming or cattle raising, lived in very modest, usually newly built houses with minimum conveniences, practiced monogamy, some dressed in white man's apparel, and concerned themselves with immediate affairs. There is no indication that they planted and spread the value system taught to them in the schools. It can be surmised that differences in outlook had existed between those who had been in contact with Canadian society through the learning and experience in the schools and those whose contact had been marginal, nevertheless the gulf was narrowed as the pupils settled down and became part, once again, of their previous environment.

The dominating factors that determined the students' return to the reservations and to the Indian style of existence were the brevity of their education, the limited opportunities off and on the reserve, the negative atmosphere of the adults toward change, and the small numbers that had been subjected to the intensive education
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programme.

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A discussion of the obvious social force---prejudice ---is omitted. It should be added that the reservation was like a magnet to the Indians; it was "home."

The short time spent in schools brought few positive results.

Records of discharged pupils show a continual movement of Indian children between the Agencies and the schools, which proves that up to date very few pupils have scarcely more than an average of three years school attendance, not considerable enough to think of doing something of a child [sic] who is then leaving the school.¹³⁰

Those pupils who had attended long enough to become proficient in their trade were faced with a difficult situation. Jobs in trades were limited off the reservation; consequently, the inevitable choice was farming or stock-raising on the reserve. There was little motivation to work at either as there existed a shortage of proper equipment. Canon Stocken described the problems the Indians encountered:

But in 1896, and for about ten years, the future of our Indians from an industrial point of view was quite problematical. Neither the Government nor the Church were then prepared to face heavy financial responsibilities, which extensive farming would call for. Indians saw settlers ploughing up their land and sowing and reaping fair harvests, but they themselves had nothing more than a borrowed plough with which to work... turned to hay making for their cattle and for sale to settlers - few machines - all needed at once.¹³²

130

Glenbow. Dunbow School Letterbook, 1888-1891. Assistant Principal to the Indian Commissioner, March 20, 1889.

131

Black Files. RG 10, Vol. 1118, Private Letterbooks. Reed to Forget, January 10, 1896.

132

Glenbow. Personal Papers of Canon Stocken, p. 56.

The government's chief objective had been to teach the students the value of the work ethic so that upon leaving they would strive to become self-supporting citizens. While at the school the students could be "inspired," whether by persuasion or command, to be productive; there they saw the accomplishments of their efforts, whereas on the reserve the unfavorable circumstances coupled with a laissez-faire existence developed in them a non-caring attitude.

Similarly the academic learning acquired by the students fell by the wayside for two reasons. The stress on a lettered education had been minimal. The missionaries were more concerned with "taming" the Indian nature, teaching the students the arts of domesticity and producing good Christians and not necessarily scholars. Irrespective of the academic progress made, there was little opportunity to continue reading and writing or to speak the English language.

Parental negativism toward change and the small percentage of graduates were two of the main causes of "regression". Dewdney wrote that the "parents were unsettling the pupils" on their return to their homes, ¹³³ and Father Naessens noted the restlessness of the pupils, particularly the boys, upon their departure from the school. After the strict and structured atmosphere of the school, the freedom of the reserve life was a sharp contrast. In 1900 Naessens summed

133

Annual Report, 1891, p. xii.

up the question of the discharged pupils and the role of the schools as he viewed it:

Pupils returning to the reserve are apt to run wild for a year or so, but as they get older they settle down and begin to utilize the knowledge they have acquired at these schools. The more pupils graduated from the industrial schools the better reports will be received of those already discharged. If the industrial schools of the Territories were kept working to full capacity, it would not be many years before a very noticeable change occurred among the reservation Indians.¹³⁴

Because the authorities recognized the plan as part of a long-range process, the essence of the inquiry becomes: to what extent was an adequate foundation established for the education of the Blackfoot children? Looking specifically at St. Joseph's, by 1900 the experiment of the relatively young industrial school was faltering. Among the multitude of factors that were contributing to its collapse was the response of the Blackfoot. By the turn of the century, the prejudice of the Blackfoot toward the industrial school, as well as the other schools, was once more a major obstacle to overcome. No school system can make gains if the people for whom it is established are opposed to the scheme.

134

Annual Report, 1900, p. 363.

CHAPTER IV

THE BLACKFOOT RESPONSE

A complex of factors affected the Blackfoot peoples' response to the white mission schools. Of these, the initial general hostility and suspicion toward the white man himself, and a continuous prevailing antipathy to many of his ways, were the most detrimental to the successful operation of the schools. The missionaries had arrived shortly after the Blackfoot had settled upon their reserves. The latter had just experienced the traumatic loss of the buffalo, extreme starvation and a general mishandling of their affairs¹ by agency employees. Uneasy about the coming of the railway, unhappy about the Riel Rebellion, disturbed by the high death rate of the time, the Blackfoot saw before them a bleak future as this new, strange way of life engulfed them.

During the formative years of Blackfoot adjustment to the new way of life, mission schools were being established on the three reservations, and the industrial school had opened at High River. Indifference or hostility to the schools stemmed from those habits and beliefs which the Blackfoot continued to retain from their previous buffalo culture. Their constant mobility, although circumscribed now, prevented regular attendance of the children at day schools; close family ties jeopardized the sending of

¹
Debates. April 15, 1886, pp. 719-744.

children to the boarding and industrial schools; a lack of appreciation for the white man's style of education brought little cooperation; and the reluctance to give up their pagan beliefs aroused a prejudice against the Christian schools.

Until the late 1880s the Blackfoot lived in encampments of "fifty or more shacks or teepees."² With the approach of fair weather they broke camp and moved on to look for berries and new feed for the horses, visit friends or attend dances. As the children departed with their parents, the schools which the missionary was conducting at these camps were forced to close. The government officials frowned upon this mobility and collectivity of the Indian, believing that this way of life thwarted the native's agricultural progress and prevented the formulation of good working habits. Gradually the employees in charge persuaded the Indian to give up the tribal living and secure individual plots of land so that by the beginning of the 1890s a scattered settlement replaced the camps.

The original large encampments of Indians are now all broken up and small settlements of 3 or 4 houses are dotted all up the Old Man's River, from the eastern extremity of the reserve to the western; alongside of these settlements are the fields belonging to the respective householders.³

2

Glenbow. Personal Papers of Canon H.W. Stocken, p. 55.

3

Annual Report, 1889, p. 86.

These scattered settlements posed a new problem for the educators. To many children the schools were inaccessible, particularly in the cold winter months.

Great distance was not the only cause of empty classrooms. After the initial novelty of schooldays faded, the children came as their moods dictated. The natural aversion to the monotony and confinement of the classroom which is common to most children was even more pronounced in the Blackfoot youngsters. It was more pleasant to roam about, untouched by routine duties; oblivious to time. Parents did not exert pressures to attend school nor did they provide any motives for enduring the toil of learning.⁴

The adult Blackfoot did not compel the children to attend as the trait of love and fondness prevented the exercise of firmness, and furthermore the adults themselves did not recognize the value of education as packaged by the white man. To the illiterate Indians, nature-oriented and previously self-supporting, the entire concept of learning in an institution was alien. In the past, they and experience had successfully taught the young to prepare for life. Now the strangers wanted the Indians to send their children to a building so the latter would learn to read and write. It was a difficult task for the government and the mission-

4

Hanks, op. cit., p. 27. Also see Glenbow. Blackfoot Folklore by Canon Stocken, file 5; Annual Report, 1885, p. 160.

aries to make "an Indian understand school system [sic] that he never heard of before; to apprehend the importance of it for their generations, while they have been themselves living well without it."⁵

The response to the industrial school at High River included another dimension---the adamant refusal to fragment the traditionally close-knit family. Many of the chiefs objected to the separation that the school demanded and so set the tone of defiance against the white man's institution.⁶ The parents possessed an intense love for their young---"the affection of parents for their children, their pride in them, their sacrifices for them, were practically limitless"⁷---so that if they did send the offspring away, they claimed them at the first sign of homesickness. Opposition and uneasiness also arose from the high mortality rate at the school. Often children who were left at the school contracted an illness and died or they were returned⁸ to the reserve and died there.

Yet this apathy or hostility to the mission schools began to wane in the early 1890s: "Education is occupying

5

Glenbow. Personal Papers of Canon Stocken, p. 6.

6

Glenbow. Dunbow School Letterbook, 1884-1888. Lacombe to Dewdney, January 11, 1885.

7

Shultz, op. cit., p. 155.

8

Omitting the years 1891 and 1896, there were 28 deaths reported at St. Joseph's between 1890 and 1899 inclusive. See Annual Reports on St. Joseph's School.

a good deal of the attention of the Indians now, and they⁹ are showing very much more interest than in former years." For approximately the first half of the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Blackfoot displayed somewhat different sentiments toward the schools. The boarding schools which were being introduced during these years were favorably received with several chiefs requesting schools in their respective areas. Father Legal reported in 1891: "All the Indians...say that they will be only (too) glad to send their children to the school, if it were built not too far¹⁰ from their place." It was not only the new type of school, the residential located on or near the reserve, that was being accepted, St. Joseph's was undergoing a boom in attendance also. There were more applicants than the school could accommodate. Government officials and missionaries marvelled at the change: at last the Blackfoot were recog-¹¹nizing the benefits of education.

This positive response, although short-lived, can be best explained as part of the developments that were taking place on the three reservations. The 1890s saw the Indians improving their dwellings, building "roofed houses with shingles," obtaining "bedsteads, tables, and seats" and

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Annual Report, 1893, p. 84.

¹⁰

Oblate Archives. Legal Papers. Legal to Pocklington, February 3, 1891.

¹¹

See comments in: Annual Report, 1895, p. 308; Annual Report, 1894, pp. 84, 140.

partitioning their homes into sleeping and living quarters.¹²
Similarly their habits were being modified: "Every year sees
the blanket more generally discarded in favor of settlers'
garb, and more attention given to personal cleanliness."¹³
Native work such as the production of moccasins and bead-
work was being replaced by "the making of such articles as
mats, baskets, and useful articles of civilized attire."¹⁴

Government and missionary efforts to curb certain
aborigine practices began to have results. "The most re-
volting ceremonies" of the very popular Sun-dance were dis-
continued.¹⁵ Likewise polygamy was finally losing support;
the missionary wrote with great pride: "there will be little
or no difficulty experienced in the future in making the
tribe monogamous."¹⁶ The male population was overcoming its
distaste for manual labor; many were hauling water, bring-
ing in wood and working in the fields.¹⁷ There was a gen-
eral indication that the Blackfoot were beginning to pay
"more attention every year to advice from the Commissioner"
and the Indian Agent.¹⁸

¹²
Annual Report, 1895, p. 136.

¹³
Annual Report, 1890, p. 132.

¹⁴
Annual Report, 1888, p. 126.

¹⁵
Annual Report, 1891, p. 83. Begg's and Tims' efforts
were aided by Crowfoot's support in these instances.

¹⁶
Annual Report, 1895, p. 75.

¹⁷
Hanks, op. cit., p. 21. See also Annual Report, 1895,
p. 75.

¹⁸
Annual Report, 1891, p. 84.

A new attitude toward the schools evolved amidst these changes. The previous fear and opposition and the general antipathy to white ways was taking a secondary place to the Blackfoot's interest in their material well-being: "Les Sauvages répondirent en envisageant surtout le côté matériel¹⁹ de la question." As their contact with the white community increased so did their desire for the acquisition of more goods. The Blackfoot expected, by "right justice and treaty obligations,"²⁰ greater material benefits than they were obtaining. "The Chiefs unanimously agreed in complaining that they were given too scanty rations and in consequence, had nothing to eat several days of the week."²¹ At this time also, the government began withholding rations from those families who failed to cooperate with the school authorities.

The Blackfoot were interested in more provisions; the white man was in control of the goods; the children were seen as possible catalysts in the solution. Deputy Superintendent Smart analyzed the motives for the newly emerging cooperative attitude of the parents:

Up to a certain point, in order to derive benefit for themselves from such contact as they must necessarily have with white men, and to save themselves from being

¹⁹

Oblate Archives. Cardston File Book, p. 14.

²⁰

Annual Report, 1890, p. 142.

²¹

Oblate Archives. Legal Papers. Bishop Grandin to the Superintendent General, July 7, 1894.

overreached, they show an increasing appreciation of the value of education, but beyond that point few have any ambition for it on behalf of their offspring.²²

Many parents therefore let their children attend the schools so "that their children should learn English well, and be able to act as interpreters" for them.²³ In these cases little else changed as after a year or two the parents removed the students, claiming the latter had been "long enough at school."²⁴

This way of thinking soon disappeared. The prejudice against the schools began to return once more about 1897. Students who had remained in the industrial school and learned English and a trade had difficulty in adjusting to reservation life on their return home. The students' knowledge brought few, if any, advantages to the parents; on the contrary, the adults were faced with restless and troublesome teenagers. Schools, instead of serving a useful practical purpose, were seen as agencies creating schisms in the family and promoting the rejection of traditions that the Blackfoot desired to maintain.²⁵

Although most aspects of Blackfoot culture were being eroded by the white man's presence and persuasion, the

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Annual Report, 1899, p. xxxi.

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Glenbow. Personal Papers of Canon Stocken, p. 8.

²⁴

Oblate Archives. St. Joseph's Records. September 22, 1888.

²⁵

Annau Report, 1889, p. xi; Annual Report, 1900, pp. 225, 363.

Blackfoot religion remained alive. Taking this into consideration it becomes apparent that the lack of positive response to the mission schools was not simply the physical inconvenience, the sorrow of separation, the lenient discipline and the impossibility of the Indians to see the value of education. The Blackfoot objected to the basic purpose of the schools---the indoctrination of their children with Christian beliefs.

Historically the Blackfoot had always been a very devout people, adhering faithfully to their religious principles: "Whatever anyone may say as to this corrupt form of religion, these people were sincere in their devotion and loyal to the native instincts of the soul." ²⁶ From their knowledge of nature they connected causes and results and formulated a natural religion. The awe in which they held the Great Spirit and their subjugation to the powers of the medicines---"The Indian was bound, hand and foot, to the superstitions, exactions and penalties of his medicines" ²⁷---prevented them from readily giving up their theology, the most complex expression of any peoples' cultural life. The prevailing religious conservatism---"We have been accustomed to a religion of our own handed down to us by our ancestors"---was their strongest bulwark ²⁸ against total transformation.

²⁶

Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 77.

²⁷

McClintock, op. cit., p. 270.

²⁸

SPGF. "E" Missionary Reports, McKay to the SPGF, August 27, 1883.

The reaction of the Blackfoot to the missionaries and Christianity took on several forms. The aborigines suspected the evangelizers of having supernatural powers equivalent to those of the medicine man: "the chiefs had greeted the praying-man Father Lacombe by running their hands over his forehead, chest and arms to absorb from him into their own bodies some virtue of the medicine which made him great."²⁹ At the same time they saw in the missionaries an opportunity to improve their temporal situation as the latter offered food, clothing, tobacco and tea for the Indian's cooperation. Many missionaries, Father Lacombe being an outstanding example, were greatly loved and respected by the Blackfoot, yet at the same time they could not effect any spiritual changes. The Blackfoot listened to them, sought their advice and regarded them as friends, but that was the extent of the influence.

The Blackfeet are not yet Christians; and in spite of the efforts on the part of the missionaries in the past and present, their more sedentary life on the reserves, at the present time they are perhaps further from the faith than they have ever been. They pose as great friends of the missionaries; respect them, have confidence in them, but that is about the limit of their Christian religion.³⁰

The Blackfoot were very unwilling to replace their own religion with Christianity. Instead they admitted to

²⁹

Hughes, op. cit., p. 158.

³⁰

Oblate Archives. Memoirs of Father Lacombe. February, 1890.

cultural dualism and accepted God and the Great Spirit as one.

We Indians are worshipping the same God that you are---only in a different way. When the Great Spirit, God, made the world He gave the Indians one way to worship Him and he gave the white man another way, because we are different people and our lives are different. The Indian should keep to his way and the white man to his, and we should all work with one another for God and not against one another. The Indian does not try to tell you how you should worship God. We like to see you worship Him in your way, because we know you understand that way.³¹

When the missionary insisted that the Great Spirit was not the same as the Christian God, the Blackfoot then suggested that "there must be two Gods."

Your God made a land for you far across the big water. He gave you houses to live in, good things to eat and fast things to travel in. He gave the Indian the teepee to live in and the buffalo to feed on. But you white people did not like the land that your God gave you and you came over here to take the Indians' land. If you did that, how do we know if we should accept your God, that He won't take everything from us, too, when we die and go to your Hunting Grounds.³²

The reaction to the possible powers of the white God was therefore ambivalent. Fear was expressed in another way. To eliminate the consequences of praying to the wrong deity, many Blackfoot insured themselves with both religious systems. The "pagan-Christians" consented to baptism, married according to the Christian practice, and prayed to God,

31

Long Lance, op. cit., p. 150.

32

Ibid., p. 151.

but at the same time retained their own beliefs. Tribute would be given to one power but if the prayers remained unanswered, allegiance was transferred to the other.

True conversion was delayed in other ways. Because both Protestants and Roman Catholics courted the Blackfoot, the latter had more opportunity to parry the missionaries' arguments. Deterring or rejecting the proselytizing on the basis of uncertainty, confusion or mistrust became very common. Chief Crowfoot's reply to an Anglican missionary typifies a common reaction:

I as you, know him (God) not---I perceive however from the different white medicine men which are amongst you that there must be different modes of worshipping the Great Spirit---I will therefore take time and wait for more knowledge to decide what kind I'll invite to teach me and my people.³³

Similarly a Blood Indian, White Calf, expressed confusion, real or simulated, over the choices presented. "What is the matter with you White Men, anyway. We Indians we have only one religion but you, you have so many that we cannot know
34
where to go."

The Blackfoot vacillated and resisted: by 1900 there were very few, if any, unwavering Christians. The census for 1900 cited the number of Christians among the tribes: eleven per cent on the Blackfoot Proper reserve; twenty-three per

33

SPGF. "E" Missionary Reports. McKay to the SPGF, 1882.

34

Legal Papers. Legal to the Editor of the North-West Review, January 14, 1892.

cent on the Blood reserve; and forty-five per cent on the
Piegan reserve.³⁵ These statistics were however contradicted
by the reports of the Indian Agents. Agent R.N. Wilson from
the Piegan reservation wrote in 1898 that "with a single
dubious exception, these Indians are pagans and bid fair to
remain so for at least another generation." adding that the
missionaries had failed "to produce a single bona fide con-
vert among the Blackfoot tribes."³⁶

Wilson stated his hypothesis for the failure of conver-
sion.

The cause of this apathetic indifference con-
cerning Christianity is not difficult to lo-
cate. It is to be found in the following simple
fact: the primitive Blackfoot religion was
essentially a religion of this material life;
there were no rewards or punishments beyond
the grave, but every sin brought its penalty
and every good act its reward in the present
state. While these Blackfoot Indians believed
in a future state, it was a mere existence in
a land of spirits, an aimless, endless condition
in connection with which there was nothing to
hope for, nothing to fear, except in so far as
it deprived one of the pleasures of this life.
Old age, therefore, was the greatest boon that
a Blackfoot prayed for, and, according to his
cult, that and all lesser blessings were ob-
tainable by whoever shaped his life in accor-
dance with the will of the pantheon of nature
gods which he worshipped.... They are, there-
fore, reluctant to give up a religion the faith-
ful observance of which brings its material re-
wards today, as it were, in exchange for Chris-
tianity, which holds out no such inducements.³⁷

Resisting the pressure to give up their beliefs, the

35

Census of 1900: 519 Piegans: 57 Protestants, 106
Roman Catholics, 356 pagans; 1,038 Blackfoot: 70 P., 35 R.
C., 933 pagans; 1,247 Bloods: 110 P., 100 R.C., 1,037 pagans.

36

Annual Report, 1898, p. 159.

37

Ibid., p. 162.

Blackfoot "protected" their children from the schools. The short experimentation with the education system appeared to have convinced them of the correctness of their earlier suspicions that the missionaries were attempting to erase the children's heritage. The schools symbolized a separation of parent and child not only in this life but in the Sand Hills as well. The Blackfoot believed that "education will not only destroy sympathy between them and their offspring in this life, but through the inculcation of religion separate them in a future state of existence."³⁸

J. Ansdell Macrae, Inspector of Protestant Schools for the North West Territories, Manitoba and Keewatin, brought the government's attention to this problem. He concluded that Blackfoot animosity was far greater to the religious teachings in the schools than to education in itself.

Church successes promote school attendances and school attendance contributes to church success; but perhaps the alliance prevents the education of many heathen children, who if educated under circumstances unobjectionable to their parents might be evangelized in greater numbers and at a greater rate.³⁹

The department was cognizant of these feelings:

The Superintendent General is, however, aware of the strong prejudices existing in the minds of very many of the above named Indians, [Bloods] as well as of the Blackfoot proper, in respect to the management by Priests of such institutions.⁴⁰

38

Annual Report, 1899, p. xxxi.

39

Annual Report, 1892, p. 188.

40

Glenbow. Dewdney Papers. Vol. VIII. Vankoughnet to Dewdney, December 4, 1889.

The view that native religion is the chief buffer against change is supported by Robert Berkhoffer: "once the Indian surrendered his native religion he commenced a garden, observed the Sabbath, attended church, sent kids⁴¹ to school," Whereas the government and missionaries hoped to change the Indian population through the students' influence, the results proved to be just the opposite. Any changes taking place on the reservation were set by the "older generation." As indicated earlier, changing patterns in the Blackfoot mode of life were obvious by the end of the century. It was within this milieu that the students expressed themselves. Concomitantly with these changes the medicine bundles were still treasured, the medicine man continued to possess supernatural powers, superstition still permeated all aspects of life, mothers still wailed over their dead children, fingers continued to be chopped off in sacrifice, the dead were still buried in trees and so on.

The effects of the education programme had been overestimated. Father Lacombe's scepticism about the permanent benefits of schooling, even upon the children, had been justified. "It is impossible to bring about characteristic changes in these youngsters as long as they have before their eyes the immoral behavior of their parents, as well as their superstitions and other vices."⁴²

⁴¹

Berkhoffer, op. cit., p. 112.

⁴²

Memoirs of Father Lacombe. March 19, 1889.

The antipathy of the Blackfoot does not appear to have emerged from, nor been strengthened by, an organized effort to preserve their culture, even though several of the chiefs were undoubtedly aware that if group cohesion was disrupted, the Indian identity would inevitably be lost. On the contrary, the majority, in all likelihood, did not conceive of this danger for the future Indian but simply reacted to the immediate present, where the schools threatened to estrange their children from them, in this life and the hereafter. They clung to, and practiced what was familiar and meaningful to them, and in the process, perpetuated their traditions and beliefs. The children were caught in the tension between a dependent culture's struggle to maintain itself, and a dominant culture's pressure to produce change.

CONCLUSION

Although the previous chapter embodies many of the conclusions to this study, a few remarks can be added to synthesize the various aspects that have been discussed. By 1900 the school system for the Blackfoot Indians showed no signs of having achieved the desired goals sought by the government and missionary nor did it show promise of future success. The children who had attended a boarding or industrial school for a considerable length of time displayed their capacity for learning; the education imparted to them, however, was not such that would secure them jobs off the reservations. They had been taught, primarily, the domestic arts and Christian virtues that were to enable them to lead "good and respectful" lives. Those who had become proficient in skills found little opportunity to exercise them. The only plausible outcome was their return to the reservation where they integrated with the majority and followed their way of life.

The deficiencies of the school system were not the sole cause of its failure: its success was greatly hindered by the unwillingness of the adult Blackfoot to patronize it. The fear that education would destroy all that was worthwhile to them brought on this boycott. There was no attempt made by the federal authorities, at any time, to discuss the Indians' future with them. The lack of communication and understanding prevented any meaningful degree of Indian

cooperation. The government knew what was best for the natives; the missionary knew what was best for the natives; and the natives had their own opinion on the matter. The conservatism of the Blackfoot rested on, and was strengthened by, their religious beliefs and these the missionary found most difficult to eradicate. Their clinging to whatever traditions they could still maintain nullified the government-missionary attempts at change.

The Indian culture, although already disrupted, was totally rejected by the government and the missionary. Not one individual suggested the possible co-existence of the two cultures. Instead, in their cruel kindness, they degraded all that was Indian and tried to force the native to imitate, or preferably to genuinely accept, the foreign ways. The missionary's superior attitude and deprecating statements, although expressed in the interests of the Indian, helped to create a self-conscious native population, lacking self-esteem and pride of person. The educational programme played a profound role in planting the seeds for this continuing state of affairs. It passed on to the children an ambivalent view of life, creating feelings of inadequacy, and simultaneously it did not supply the full means of escaping the fate of being Indian.

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APPENDIX I

BLACKFOOT (PROPER) RESERVATION

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>AVERAGE ATTENDANCE</u>
1886	Old Sun's	H.W.G. Stocken	16	2
1887	Old Sun's	H.W.G. Stocken	40	13
1888	Old Sun's	H.W.G. Stocken	56	12
	Big Plume's	S.J. Stocken	52	14
	Blackfoot Crossing	T. Robbe	81	26
1890	Old Sun's	F. Swainson	56	15
	Big Plume's	W.R. Haynes	41	15
	Blackfoot Crossing	T. Robbe	45	11
1891	Old Sun's	F. Swainson	82	20
	Big Plume's	W.R. Haynes	57	26
	Blackfoot Crossing	T. Robbe	44	11
	Eagle Rib's	J. Forbes	79	43
1892	Old Sun's	H. Baker	66	17
	Blackfoot Crossing	T. Robbe	43	10
	Eagle Rib's	J. Forbes	58	27
	Many Shot At's	H.F. Baker	18	5
	Boarding School	Rev. Tims	21	14
1893	Old Sun's	H. Baker	59	16
	Blackfoot Crossing	V. Robbe	33	13
	Eagle Rib's	C.L. Mills	25	10
	Many Shot At's	J.S. Mahood	30	5
	Boarding School	Rev. Tims	28	22
1894	Old Sun's	Rev. Tims	28	7
	Blackfoot Crossing	V. Robbe	33	15
	Eagle Rib's	C.L. Mills	37	10
	Many Shot At's	S. Collins	18	14
	Boarding School	Rev. Tims	33	26
1895	Old Sun's	Rev. Tims	15	4
	Blackfoot Crossing	V. Robbe	25	18
	Eagle Rib's	J.S. Mahood	24	11
	Many Shot At's	S. Collins	36	16
	St. John's Boarding	Rev. Tims	41	32
	White Eagle Bd.	Rev. Tims	18	9
1896	Old Sun's	W.H. James	10	4
	Blackfoot Crossing	G.H. Race	27	9
	Eagle Rib's	J.S. Mahood	25	12

1896	St. John's Boarding	H.W.G. Stocken	40	35
	White Eagle Bd.	H.W.G. Stocken	19	18
1897	Old Sun's Day	H.W.G. Stocken	39	23
	Old Sun's Boarding	H.W.G. Stocken	31	24
	White Eagle Bd.	H.W.G. Stocken	24	18
1898	Crowfoot	G.H. Race	27	10
	St. John's Boarding	H.W.G. Stocken	11	10
	White Eagle Bd.	H.W.G. Stocken	35	24
1899	Crowfoot	Rev. Danis	26	8
	Old Sun's Boarding	H.W.G. Stocken	12	11
	White Eagle Bd.	H.W.G. Stocken	30	23
1900	Crowfoot	Rev. Danis	24	11
	Old Sun's Day	H.W.G. Stocken	22	4
	Old Sun's Boarding	H.W.G. Stocken	12	11
	White Eagle Bd.	H.W.G. Stocken	26	22
	Crowfoot Boarding	Rev. Danis	11	9

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BLOOD RESERVATION

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>AVERAGE ATTENDANCE</u>
1886		T.R. Clipsham	23	11
1887		C. Fossbroke	281	81
1888		C. Fossbroke	149	40
1890		E.F. Hillier	86	28
		E. Wells	22	4
		J. Hinchliffe	60	15
		E. Legal	47	22
1891		E.F. Hillier	46	11
		E. Wells	35	1
		J. Hinchliffe	35	11
	Running Wolf	E. Legal	42	14
1892	Bull Shields	E.F. Hillier	44	15
	Bull Horn's	J. Hinchliffe	30	7
	Red Crow	B.H. Robertson	69	11
	Running Wolf	E. Legal	37	12
	Indian Girls Bd.	A.E. Busby	10	6
1893	Bull Shields	J.A. Hewson	46	23
	Bull Horn's	A. Mills	41	16

1893	Red Crow	S. Collins	37	5
	Running Wolf	Rev. Legal	39	9
	Heavy Shields	W.D.T. Jones	28	12
	Boarding School	F. Swainson	16	14
1894	Bull Shields	H.G. Henson	32	5
	Bull Horn's	A. Mills	24	10
	Red Crow	W.R. Hanes	23	13
	Heavy Shields	St. Germaine	25	10
	St. Paul's Bd	F. Swainson	34	19
1895	Bull Shields	H.G. Hewson	25	5
	Bull Horn's	A. Mills	18	9
	Red Crow	C.A. McAnally	17	7
	Running Wolf	A. St. George	20	11
	Heavy Shields	St. Germaine	18	10
	St. Paul's Day	F. Swainson	14	12
	St. Paul's Bd	F. Swainson	43	41
1896	Bull Horn's	A. Mills	25	9
	Heavy Shields	St. Germaine	15	9
	Red Crow	L.W. Wood	14	7
	Running Wolf	A. St. George	18	11
	St. Paul's Day	H. Baker	17	13
	St. Paul's Bd	H. Baker	48	46
1897	Red Crow	L.W. Wood	14	7
	Running Wolf	A. St. George	15	9
1898	Bull Horn's	L.F. Hardyman	21	4
	Heavy Shields	St. Germaine	10	4
	Running Wolf	Rev. J. Riou	11	6
	St. Paul's Bd	A. de B. Owen	59	40
1899	Bull Horn's	L.F. Hardyman	23	6
	St. Paul's Bd	A. de B. Owen	49	44
	Immaculate Con.	Rev. Riou	12	10
1900	Bull Horn's	L.F. Hardyman	23	8
	St. Paul's Bd	A. de B. Owen	53	47
	Immaculate Con.	Rev. Riou	19	16

PIEGAN RESERVATION

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SCHOOL</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>NO.</u>	<u>AVERAGE ATTENDANCE</u>
1887	Roman Catholic	A. Herbert	50	25
1888	Protestant	Rev. Bourne	65	23
	Roman Catholic	A. Herbert	59	27
1890	Protestant	Rev. Bourne	48	14
	Catholic	Pere Foisy	33	11
1891	Protestant Day	Rev. Bourne	46	11
	Catholic Day	Pere Foisy	24	8
	Protestant Bd.	Rev. Bourne	8	4
1892	Protestant Day	Rev. Bourne	47	14
	Protestant Bd.	Rev. Bourne	10	5
	Catholic Day	Father Foisy	35	13
1893	Protestant Day	J. Hinchliffe	18	4
	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	10	6
	Catholic Day	Father Foisy	34	10
1894	Protestant Day	J. Hinchliffe	25	13
	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	27	21
	Catholic Day	Father Foisy	31	10
1895	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	31	22
	Catholic Day	Father Foisy	20	11
1896	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	31	21
	Catholic Day	Father Foisy	21	11
1897	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	37	24
	Catholic Bd.	L.J. Danis	10	9
1898	Protestant Bd.	J. Hinchliffe	44	25
	Catholic Bd.	Rev. L. Doucet	18	12
1899	Protestant Bd.	W.R. Haynes	29	24
	Catholic Bd.	Rev. L. Doucet	25	25

NOTE: The Protestant Schools on the Piegan Reserve were all operated by the Church of England. The school statistics of all three reservations are often incomplete, yet they portray approximately the number of children in attendance and the changes in the teaching staff. The discussion of the school scene relies more heavily on the written reports in the Sessional Papers.

APPENDIX II

ST. JOSEPH'S INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER ENROLLED</u>
1887	25
1888	28
1889	49
1890	52
1891	52
1892	68
1893	66
1894	95*
1895	120
1896	117
1897	112
1898	101
1899	90
1900	84

*

The 1894 school term opened with 78 students and closed with 111 on the register. The chart indicates the average enrollment.

APPENDIX III

PROGRAMME OF STUDIES FOR INDIAN SCHOOLS

STANDARD I

English

Word recognition and sentence making. Simple sounds of letters of alphabet. Copying words.

General knowledge

Facts concerning things in school. Develop what is already known. Days of week, month.

Writing

Elementary strokes and words on slates. Large round hand.

Arithmetic

Numbers 1 to 10: their combinations and separations, oral and written, the signs +, -, x, count to 10 by ones, twos, threes &c. Use and meaning one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, one-third, one-sixth, one-ninth, one-fifth, one-tenth, one-seventh, (no figures.) Simple problems. Oral.

Ethics

The practice of cleanliness, obedience, respect, order, neatness.

Reading

First Primer

STANDARD II

English

Sounds continued. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Dictation of words learnt and of simple sentences.

General knowledge

The seasons. Measures of length and weight in common use. Colours. Commence animal and vegetable kingdoms, their parts and uses, cultivation, growth, &c. Things in and about the school and their parts.

Writing

Words, &c., on slates. Large round hand.

Arithmetic

Numbers 10 to 25: their combinations and separations (oral and written.) Count to 25 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, &c., to one-twenty-fifth (no figures.) Relation of halves, fourths, eighths, thirds, sixths, twelfths, thirds, ninths (no figures.) Simple problems introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pound, current coins up to 25c. Addition in columns, no total to exceed 25.

Ethics

Right and wrong. Truth. Continuance of proper appearance and behaviour.

Reading

Second Primer

Recitation

To begin in Standard 2, are to be in line with what is taught in English, and developed into pieces of verse and prose which contain the highest moral and patriotic maxims and thoughts.

STANDARD III

English

Sounds completed. Simple homonyms explained. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Sentences dictated. Compose sentences about objects and actions.

General knowledge

Animal and vegetable kingdoms continued. Money. The useful metals.

Writing

Slates and copy book No. 1. Medium round hand.

Arithmetic

Numbers 25 to 100: their combinations and separations (oral

and written.) Count to 100 by ones, twos, threes, &c., to tens. Use and meaning of one-twenty-sixth, one-twenty-seventh, &c., to one-one-hundredth (no figures.) Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions of Standard 2. Roman numerals I to C. Simple problems introducing seconds in minutes, minutes in hours, hours in day, pounds in bushel, sheets in quire, quires in ream.

Geography

Development of geographical notions by reference to geographical features of neighbourhood. Elementary lessons on direction, distance, extent.

Ethics

Independence. Self-respect. Develop the reasons for proper appearance and behaviour.

Reading

Second Reader

History

Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization.

STANDARD IV

English

Sounds reviewed. Sentence enlargement. Orthograph, oral and written. Letter writing. Simple compositions, oral and written, reviewing work on general knowledge course.

General Knowledge

Animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms continued. Uses of railways and ships. Explain manufacture of articles in common use. The races of man.

Writing

Copy books Nos. 2 and 3 Medium round hand.

Arithmetic

Numeration and notation to 10,000. Simple rules to 10,000. Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions already known (figures.) Introduce terms, numerator, denominator, etc. Roman notation to 2,000. Graded problems introducing remaining reduction tables. Daily practice in simple rules to secure accuracy and rapidity.

Geography

- (a) Review of work of Standard 3. Lessons to lead to simple conception of the earth as a great ball with surface of land and water, surrounded by the air, lighted by the sun, and with two motions.
- (b) Lessons on natural features, first from observation, afterwards by aid of moulding board, pictures and blackboard illustrations.
- (c) Preparations for and introduction of maps. (Review of lessons in position, distance, direction, with representations drawn to scale.) Study of map of vicinity drawn on blackboard. Maps of natural features drawn from moulded forms. Practice in reading conventional map symbols on outline maps.
- (d) General study from globe and maps. The hemisphere, continent, oceans and large islands, their relative positions and size. The continents' position, climate, form, outline, surroundings, principal mountains, rivers, lakes; the most important countries, productions, people, interesting facts and associations.

Ethics

Industry, Honesty, Thrift.

Reading

Third Reader.

History

History of Province in which school is situated.

STANDARD V

English

Enlargement and correction of sentences continued. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing continued. Easy, oral and written, composition reviewing general knowledge course.

General Knowledge

Same enlarged. Laws regarding fires, game, &c., of daily use.

Writing

Copy books Nos. 4 and 5. Small round hand.

Arithmetic

Notation and numeration completed. Formal reduction. Vulgar fractions to thirtieths. Denominate fractions. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Graded problems. Reading and writing decimals to thousandths inclusive.

Geography

Simple study of the important countries in each continent, Province in which school is situated and Canada to be studied first. The position of the country in the continent; its natural features, climate, productions, its people, their occupations, manners customs, noted localities, cities, &c. Moulding boards and map drawing, to be aids in the study.

Ethics

Citizenship of Indians. Patriotism. Industry. Thrift. Self-maintenance. Charity. Pauperism.

Reading

Fourth Reader.

History

Canadian History(commenced).

STANDARD VI

English

Analysis of simple sentences. Parts of speech. Orthography, oral and written. Letter writing continued. Oral and written composition reviewing general knowledge course.

General Knowledge

Social relations. Seats of Government in Canada. System of representation and justice. Commerce and exchange of products.

Writing

Copy books Nos. 6 and 7. Small round hand.

Arithmetic

Factors, measures and multiples. Vulgar fractions completed. Easy application of decimals to ten thousandths. Easy application of square and cubic measures. Daily practice to secure accuracy and rapidity in simple rules. Easy application of percentage. Graded problems.

Geography

- (a) The earth as a globe. Simple illustrations and statements with reference to form, size, meridians and parallels, with their use; motions and their effects as day and night, seasons, zones, with their characteristics as winds and ocean currents, climate as affecting the life of man.
- (b) Physical features and conditions of North America, South America and Europe, studied and compared. Position on the globe; position relative to other grand divisions, size, form, surface, drainage, animal and vegetable life, resources, &c. Natural advantages of the cities.
- (c) Observation to accompany the study of geography - apparent movements of the sun, moon and stars, and varying time of their rising and setting; difference in heat of the sun's rays at different hours of the day; change in the direction of the sun's rays coming through a school-room window at the same hour during the year; varying length of noon-day shadows; changes of the weather, wind and seasons.

Ethics

Indian and white life. Patriotism. Evils of Indian isolation. Enfranchisement. Labour the law of life. Relations of the sexes as to labour. Home and public duties.

Reading

Fifth Reader.

History

Canadian History(continued.)

Included in all Standards were:

Vocal Music

Simple Songs and Hymns. The subjects of the former to be interesting and patriotic. The tunes bright and cheerful.

Calisthenics

Exercises, frequently accompanied by singing, to afford variation during work and to improve physique.

Religious Instruction

Scripture Reading. The Ten Commandments. Lord's Prayer. Life of Christ, &c., &c.

NOTE:

ENGLISH-Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it; unless they do, the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted.

READING-Pupils must be taught to read loudly and distinctly. Every word and sentence must be fully explained to them, and from time to time they should be required to state the sense of a lesson or sentence, in their own words, in English, and also in their own language if the teacher understands it.

GENERAL-Instruction is to be direct, the voice and blackboard being the principal agents. The unnecessary use of text books is to be avoided.

N.B.-It will be considered a proof of the incompetency of a teacher, if pupils are found to read in "parrot fashion" only, i.e., without in the least understanding what they read. And the following remark applies to all teaching, viz.:
-Everything must be thoroughly understood, before a pupil is advanced to further studies.

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